DOUBLE ISSUE: AUGUST 2/9, 2004

CONVENTION SPECIAL

# The Nation.

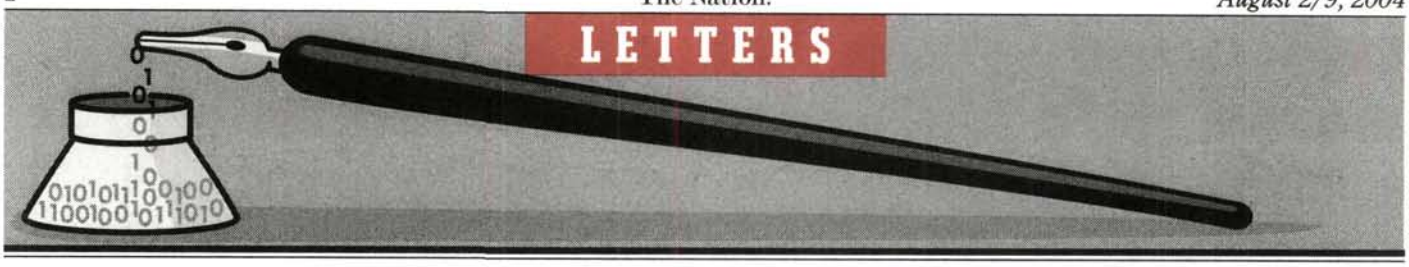
$2.95
$3.95 Canada

VIN PHILLIPS
RLES P. PIERCE
KATRINA
NDEN HEUVEL
& ROBERT L.
BOROSAGE
JoANN
VYPIJEWSKI
OWARD DEAN
RGE McGOVERN
LTER CRONKITE
LEN CHESLER
ARGARET CHO
ORGE LAKOFF
KARI KITWANA
HN BRADEMAS
THUR MILLER
OHN SAYLES
HUCK CLOSE
ANDREW JAY
CHWARTZMAN
GRANNY D
AMIN RASKIN
NELL MINOW
ANI GUINIER
TUDS TERKEL
ERROD BROWN
IC SCHLOSSER
JAMES K.
GALBRAITH
ARY INDIANA
JEREMY
BERNSTEIN
AVID BONIOR

www.thenation.com

#BXNKBXM ****** 5-DIGIT 94301
RON K UNZ FEB 05 07
555 BRYANT ST 371 #0136
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
#UNZ0555B096 1#3026O4 TW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

## AD NAUSEAM

*An ad for pleasevote.com on the back cover of our July 5 issue upset many readers, some of whom threatened to cancel their subscriptions if we repeat the ad. In it, sculptor Richard Serra has taken Goya's* Saturn Devouring One of His Sons *and substituted George W. Bush's face for Saturn's. Some typical letters:*

*Newport, RI*

■ Whatever you were paid to run the ad featuring George W. Bush eating a bloody human figure was not enough. Its ghoulishness is akin to the posters of aborted fetuses held aloft by the macabre champions of the "pro-life" cause. Both are dotty and morbid. MINOT DAVIS

*Ukiah, Calif.*

■ I gasped when I saw the July 5 back cover! This is one of the most horrifying images I have ever seen at my ripe age. Never mind the "free speech" excuse! It clearly crosses the line! A subscriber for more than a decade, I am very disappointed in *The Nation*. What's happened to your sense of decency? INGEBORG KUHN

*Oneida, NY*

■ What ever possessed you to print that gross caricature of George W. Bush? Is it your intent to see him re-elected? Or was this thing paid for by the Republican National Committee? It will be used by the right wing to illustrate the values and desperation of liberals and liberal publications. Nice going. J. L. HATCHER

*Oil City, Pa.*

■ What in the world were you thinking? No one dislikes the Bush Administration or its policies more than I, but this is over the top. Common decency dictates that this picture has no place in a respectable magazine. John Kerry would be horrified to see it, and it certainly does nothing to further the Democratic effort. HELEN HALE

*Virginia Beach, Va.*

■ The pleasevote.com ad was tasteless and out of bounds. This inappropriate depiction should not have appeared in your magazine. Your other depictions of the President show a sense of humor. But this ad lacks intelligence, good sense and humanity. I hope you will provide an explanation for your failure to show a sense of decency while you are asking the same of our government. EDWARD GIBBS

■ I have proudly recycled copies of *The Nation* to my local library for the past twenty years. The July 5 issue will not find its way there. I would be too embarrassed to have my neighbors know that I was responsible for placing that obscene ad in our library. PAUL C. ROYCE

*Cloverdale, Calif.*

■ To paraphrase Robert Frost: I would rather see us perish as Athens than prevail as Sparta. I thought this rather pertinent to the image on your back cover. Both quite descriptive and sadly realistic. JOHN W. WOHLFARTH

## SERRA REPLIES

*Cape Breton, Nova Scotia*

■ It's a protest poster, and people ought to relax. RICHARD SERRA

## THE EDITORS REPLY

■ At *The Nation* we have a strong presumption against censoring any ad, particularly if we disagree with its content. In the case of pleasevote.com, we might add that we also have a strong presumption against censoring artwork, particularly if it is by the imaginative sculptor Richard Serra, recipient of NEA grants and, ironically, the praises of First Lady Laura Bush (in a White House press release about a Serra piece in a Texas museum). Interested readers will find our advertising policy at www.thenation.com and also art critic Arthur C. Danto's thoughts on Serra's work from the June 29 and September 28, 1985, and the April 19, 1986, issues.

—THE EDITORS

## ...AND WHY THE SEA IS BOILING HOT...

*Norwalk, Conn.*

■ In his review of *The Day After Tomorrow* ["Films," June 21], Stuart Klawans criticizes MoveOn.org for opportunistically seizing upon the film's release to publicize global warming. As the editor of *Feeling the Heat: Dispatches From the Frontlines of Climate Change*, a book that shows ongoing greenhouse effects around the world, I've also used the film for promotional purposes. The sad fact is that without such connections, global warming books are often ignored by the media, including *The Nation*. By mentioning the film (while admitting that the science is sketchy), I've been able to place an oped written with *Boiling Point* author Ross Gelbspan in a dozen papers and websites around the world. And I was also able to get this letter into your esteemed publication. Every little bit helps.

JIM MOTAVALLI, *editor*
*E/The Environmental Magazine*

## JUST SAY NO TO DRUG CARDS?

*Los Angeles*

■ On Trudy Lieberman's "Dealing the Drug Cards" [June 21]: I recently went to my pharmacy to refill a prescription and presented my new drug card for a discount. The pharmacist told me that if I used the card, I would pay *more* (but refused to say how much more). Without an elaborate bureaucracy that not only informs Medicare patients how much they should be paying for each drug but also polices pharmacies to see that they honor the supposedly discounted prices, the system won't work.

DANNY KLEINMAN

## A CLEAN MACHINE...

*New Paltz, NY*

■ Thanks for endorsing Clean Elections and calling attention to the Arizona Keep It Clean campaign ["The Big Money Election," June 14]. You are correct in noting that the campaign finance solution lies not in half-measures like the presidential matching funds or McCain-Feingold's "heavy-handed regulation." As an activist involved in the Clean Elections movement in New York, I urge everyone to get involved in their own state and to throw the Arizona activists a few bucks to help them defend their achievement from the greedheads (www.publicampaign.org, www.nycce.org, www.pcactionfund.org/five). MATT CORSARO

*New York Citizens for Clean Elections*

## LEFT IN THE LURCH BY THE CHURCH

*Chapel Hill, NC*

■ Re John Nichols's "Kerry and Communion" [June 14]. What America feared most when JFK ran for President in 1960 has come to pass: The Pope and his minions are interfering with social and political issues. As a recovering Catholic, I say that today more than ever, separation of church and state needs vigorous renewal. I wonder, now that these self-interested bishops have refused Communion to Governor James McGreevey, Senator John Kerry and others, if women taking birth-control pills will also be forced off the Communion rail? Men using condoms? Say, how about those in favor of the war and the death penalty? JAMES HUFF

*Palm Desert, Calif.*

■ I would love to ask Bishop Michael Sheridan and Bishop Raymond Burke if they denied Communion to the child-molesting priests. Isn't there something in the Bible about the beam in thine own eye? BARRY ROSS PARNELL

## UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU (MAYBE)

*Silver Spring, Md.*

■ Katha Pollitt's "Do You Feel a Draft?" provides welcome criticism of Representative Charles Rangel's conscription bill ["Subject to Debate," June 7]. The bill includes a step backward for conscientious objectors. Under current law, COs are diverted to civilian service without being inducted into the military. Under Rangel's bill, COs would be inducted and perform civil-

*(Continued on Page 40)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED JULY 14 VOLUME 279, NUMBER 4

# IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

**EDITORIALS & COMMENT**

3 FREEDOM'S TRAIL

4 ELECTION MATTERS
A Platform for the Timid
*John Nichols*

5 ELECTION POSTPONED...
*Jeff Gillenkirk*

6 KERRY: NO W. (& NO BILL)
*David Corn*

8 SLOW-GEAR DEMOCRATS
*William Greider*

12 LETTER FROM GROUND ZERO
Healing the Law
*Jonathan Schell*

**COLUMNS**

10 DEADLINE POET
For the Day Ralph Shuffles Off ...
*Calvin Trillin*

13 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
Lead Balloons
*Patricia J. Williams*

14 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
Wrong Again
*Eric Alterman*

**ARTICLES**

15 HOW KERRY CAN WIN
*Kevin Phillips*

18 THE LIBERAL STATE
*Charles P. Pierce*

22 A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM: A FORUM
*Howard Dean, George McGovern, Walter Cronkite, Ellen Chesler, Margaret Cho, George Lakoff, Bakari Kitwana, John Brademas, Arthur Miller, John Sayles, Chuck Close, Andrew Jay Schwartzman, Doris "Granny D" Haddock, Jamin Raskin, Nell Minow, Lani Guinier, Studs Terkel, Sherrod Brown, Eric Schlosser, James K. Galbraith, Gary Indiana, Jeremy Bernstein, David Bonior*

30 VICTORY IN 2004—AND BEYOND
*Katrina vanden Heuvel and Robert L. Borosage*

33 THE RAINBOW'S GRAVITY
*JoAnn Wypijewski*

**BOOKS & THE ARTS**

43 CLINTON: My Life
*Stanley I. Kutler*

46 VOINOVICH: Monumental Propaganda
*Boris Fishman*

52 MUSIC
Prince
*Jody Rosen*

58 FILMS
Before Sunset
Spider-Man 2
*Stuart Klawans*

*Cover by Robert Grossman; illustrations by Christoph Niemann, Peter O. Zierlein*

# EDITORIALS

## *Freedom's Trail*

As Democrats prepare for their convention in Boston, they should ponder the city's catalytic role in American history. If they venture outside their hospitality suites for a walk on the Freedom Trail, they'll see historic places associated with the American Revolution and be reminded that the battle for freedom was begun here. But they might also take a moment to remember that the battle for freedom was not *won* here.

In seventeenth-century Boston, Roger Williams was banished for standing for religious freedom against the Puritan theocrats, yet he continued to preach that no sect may claim a monopoly on truth and he opposed the merging of church and state. In the eighteenth century, Boston abolitionists challenged slavery, the ultimate in property rights, and in the nineteenth century, textile workers in nearby Lowell launched the long struggle for the rights of labor in America. Women suffragists demanded not only voting and economic rights but also control of their own bodies, paving the way for the modern abortion rights movement. Thoreau practiced civil disobedience against an imperialist war.

Time brought new conflicts: the battle for racial equality in public education in South Boston in the 1970s and, most recently, the state supreme court's ruling in support of gay marriage (prompting the neotheocrats in the Senate to try unsuccessfully to pass a constitutional amendment denying that right).

Everything each of these movements stood for, the Bush Administration stands against. The very term "freedom" has been co-opted into a rationale for unleashing the most venal instincts of private interests as well as a justification for an illegal war and occupation called, in Orwellian fashion, Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Through a series of regressive changes in federal income and corporate taxes, this Administration looted our national treasury of trillions for the benefit of its rich friends, while cutting assistance to state and local governments and withdrawing support from public education. It failed to respond to the greatest crisis in American manufacturing since the Great Depression but found millions to subsidize the sending of jobs abroad. It did nothing to solve our healthcare crisis, but much to deny health services to women and the poor. It attempted first to destroy Social Security and then defrauded seniors on Medicare with phony prescription drug reforms. It gave us a new energy policy written by oil lobbyists and Enron executives, new environmental laws written by polluters, new labor laws written by low-wage employers. It went to the Supreme Court to overturn a generation of civil rights law and politicized scientific and medical research.

This sprawling effort was partly about greed and corruption. But it also had a broader political purpose—to bankrupt the American state while rolling back the great social democratic achievements of the twentieth century: a progressive income tax; rights for workers, women and racial minorities; retirement security; access to healthcare; environmental protection; consumer protection; workplace safety; widened access to higher education.

This is no ordinary election. It is about the future of American democracy. Although there are few official monuments to the half-finished struggles for freedom that have marked our history since independence, it is those stories that offer the most inspiration—to the Democratic convention delegates and to all Americans—as we confront the new century's enemies of freedom.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT


# The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Hillary Frey
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Shane Goldmacher (*Washington*), Lucia Green-Weiskel, Demetra Kasimis, Mark W. Lotto, Carmina Ocampo, Katherine C. Reilly, Ben Somberg, Stacy Torres

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: *William Greider*

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Gene Santoro; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Randall Kennedy, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Inga Knets
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Jane Sharples
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRINT COORDINATOR: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form.
E-mail is preferred, but letters to the editor and queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2004 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

**INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.**


# *A Platform for the Timid*

ELECTION MATTERS

Rosa DeLauro, the savvy Connecticut Congresswoman whom Democratic leaders and the Kerry for President campaign put in charge of drafting the party's 2004 platform, says, "It reflects John Kerry. It reinforces who John Kerry is."

Unfortunately, DeLauro is right.

Instead of a manifesto for change that might attract new support, or at least energize the base, the platform that delegates to the Democratic National Convention are expected to approve without debate is a tepid document largely defined by Senator Kerry's fear of being identified as a liberal—let alone as a progressive seeking to surf what polls suggest is a rising tide of antiwar sentiment.

Indeed, on the question of Iraq, the platform is every bit as difficult to pin down as the candidate. DeLauro, who unlike Kerry and vice presidential pick John Edwards voted against authorizing the Bush Administration's use of force against Iraq, argues that the platform rejects the Administration's approach to the world, and she can point to some strong words of condemnation. The Administration is taken to task for its willingness to "[rush] to war without exhausting diplomatic alternatives," to "bully rather than persuade" and to "[walk] away from more than a hundred years of American leadership in the world to embrace a new—and dangerously ineffective—disregard for the world." Yet, under the direction of Kerry aides and party chieftains, drafters meticulously avoided identifying the war as a mistake, refused to embrace any kind of timeline for bringing US involvement to a conclusion and failed to reject clearly the doctrine of making pre-emptive war. The draft document was so murky that Tom Hayden, the anti–Vietnam War activist and former California legislator, penned a letter warning that "the candidate and the Party establishment already are risking voter disillusionment with transparent vagaries on Iraq."

Backers of Congressional Progressive Caucus co-chair Dennis Kucinich's presidential bid joined antiwar activists in a last-ditch attempt to press the platform committee to improve the document in mid-July, at a final "dot the i's, cross the t's" session in Hollywood, Florida. In a measure of the commendable determination of the Kerry campaign to keep Democrats in the fold, Kucinich backers were treated respectfully—especially after they delivered petitions signed by more than 200,000 supporters of an antiwar plank. But in the end they were ceded only a few words to take back to the faithful. Added to a section on getting NATO allies to contribute more military forces to the Iraq endeavor was a line that reads, "The U.S. will be able to reduce its military presence in Iraq, and we intend to do this when appropriate so that the military support needed by a sovereign Iraqi government will no longer be seen as the direct continuation of an American military presence." It was a small victory that allowed one of the two Kucinich backers on the 186-member committee, Minnesotan John Sherman, to suggest that he could go back to "our folks"—antiwar activists—and argue for Kerry. But even that was too much for Sandy Berger, the Clinton Ad-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

# Election Postponed to Preserve Democracy

*American counterterrorism officials, citing what they call "alarming" intelligence about a possible Qaeda strike inside the United States this fall, are reviewing a proposal that could allow for the postponement of the November presidential election in the event of such an attack,* Newsweek *has learned.*

—Newsweek, *July 19 issue*

**TRANSCRIPT OF THE OCTOBER 28, 2004, SPEECH, FROM THE OVAL OFFICE, BY GEORGE W. BUSH**

My Fellow Citizens,

Our democracy has flourished for more than 200 years, nourished by the courageous spirit of the American people and the blood of American patriots. Ours is the longest continuous democratic government in the history of mankind. It has been a beacon of freedom, and a symbol of hope, to generations of people the world over. The system by which we choose our leaders today is the envy of the world. Through our process of free debate and open elections, we assure our friends and our enemies alike not only of our continuing stability, but of our strength.

I have no doubt that these are the very virtues that have drawn the most evil forces in the world today to target our system for destruction. The shadowy networks of deadly terrorist groups and the criminal regimes that support them seek to sow doubts that this free and informed debate of issues, and the orderly succession of democratically elected leaders, cannot work. They want to prove that their evil vision of Chaos, Terror and Tyranny will prevail instead.

But they will not succeed. Not on my watch—and not on yours. America is too strong. America is too smart. America is too determined to remain that beacon of freedom in a world where freedom grows more precious every day.

As a citizen of this nation, I am certain you have heard the reports of efforts by the Al Qaeda terrorist network to disrupt the 2004 presidential election, and to disrupt the elections for the United States Congress, the United States Senate and the elections of state and local officials across our land.

Today, it is my solemn duty to inform you that agents of our Department of Homeland Security have confirmed without a shadow of a doubt that these reports are true. Al Qaeda operatives have been apprehended on American soil, carrying plans for placing high-intensity explosive devices and biohazardous materials in strategic voting precincts throughout the United States. These plans reveal intentions to kill and maim American voters at polling places in at least eleven states—in the South, the Midwest, in California and in my home state of Texas.

Diagrams seized with these terrorists show evidence of long-term surveillance of specific homes and places of worship used for voting. Their clear intention is to shift our attention with panic and weaken our morale with fear. They clearly hope to intimidate the American people, and to weaken our confidence in our government's ability to protect its citizens and our cherished democratic institutions.

We have seen what this kind of intimidation has done to formerly democratic regimes around the world. But they will not intimidate us. We are a peaceful people, but we are not a fragile people. We will not be intimidated by thugs and killers. But we must back up our resolve with more than words. We must preserve our democracy with action.

As Commander in Chief and President of the United States, I have been given responsibility for resolving a historic dilemma. In the short term, we face our commitment to maintaining our schedule of elections across America on November 2, despite Al Qaeda's threats. In the long term, we face the responsibility of saving our democratic system—for our children and for future generations around the world who will look to us for leadership.

America has never backed down from doing the right thing, no matter how hard. We know the value of freedom better than anyone, because we have paid the highest price to preserve it. In this tradition, I have taken a series of actions to derail this plot by the Al Qaeda terrorist network to disrupt our democratic process.

I have ordered the Director of Homeland Security to elevate our Security Alert Index to its highest level—red.

I have ordered the Attorney General to invoke the emergency measures of our Patriot Act, to quarantine suspected terrorists and protect our people while preserving the most cherished principles of our Constitution.

I have ordered commanders of our military forces in Afghanistan to begin massive bombings of suspected Al Qaeda operation centers in the southern part of the country.

Last, just moments ago I sent to the US Congress a resolution calling for temporary postponement of the 2004 elections until the safety of all our citizens can be guaranteed and the integrity of our electoral process preserved. I have asked for, and have every reason to expect, Congressional approval of this emergency measure by the end of the day tomorrow.

The image of America's citizens peacefully choosing their leaders, and our orderly transition of leadership, is critical to world peace and stability. Al Qaeda's plot to disrupt our elections is intended to frighten our people from voting and create the impression in the minds of people around the world that even in America the price of democracy is too high.

Thankfully, democracy does not depend exclusively on elections. It does, however, depend on trust. The trust that people have in their government to protect them and their families from violence and bloodshed. Trust in the integrity and decisiveness of the leaders they select. Trust that the votes that you and your fellow citizens cast will be cast without coercion, intimidation or the threat of consequences.

The most important thing you can do is to continue going about your daily routine and show the terrorists—and the world—our resolve. This strategic postponement of our voting calendar is by no means a sign of weakness. It is a sign of strength. It shows that America is determined to hold its elections on its own schedule—not Al Qaeda's.

I ask you today to stand with me in this historic battle to protect our families and our freedom. Help me to show the world what American democracy is truly made of.

United, we will win this battle. United, we always do.

Thank you, and may God continue to bless America.

JEFF GILLENKIRK

*Jeff Gillenkirk is a former speechwriter for New York Governor Mario Cuomo.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ministration National Security Adviser who was monitoring the platform session for the Kerry campaign. "We didn't give up anything," he claimed.

Berger was wrong. He and the other guardians of platform language did give up something: the prospect that the document might actually attract new votes to the Kerry/Edwards ticket—especially the Nader voters, about whom Democrats still spend so much time worrying. While Kerry strategists got the platform they wanted, they failed to understand the essentials of Platform Writing 101. It is true that party platforms are not so widely read or analyzed here as they are in other democracies. But Republicans recognized something in the 1980s that Democrats still have not figured out: that a platform ought to be a rousing call to arms, a powerful signal of what the party would do if given power, rather than a dull recitation of platitudes, conventional wisdom and established stances. Republicans write platforms to excite the cadres and attract fellow travelers who might not be all that impressed with party nominees. Democrats write platforms from a place of fear; they do everything in their power to avoid giving Republicans new targets for criticizing the party and its candidates—as if Karl Rove and his crew really need any help.

When allies of the Backbone Campaign, a grassroots movement to push the party in a progressive direction, offered an amendment spelling out steps the party would take to rewrite the Patriot Act and protect civil liberties, there was clear enthusiasm even among Kerry backers on the platform committee. To the surprise even of the Backbone Campaigners, they won enough support to force a rare debate at the Florida session. Then Berger and others rushed in to counsel caution. "This is very tricky," said Eleanor Holmes Norton, Congressional delegate from the District of Columbia, after announcing to the committee that she was speaking "regretfully" against the amendment. Warning that taking on the Patriot Act too forcefully would attract Republican charges that Democrats are soft on terrorism, she said, "Don't play into their hands." The amendment was defeated, leaving the national Democratic Party with a platform that is no stronger in its criticism of the Patriot Act than the platform of the Idaho Republican Party.

In fairness to the Kerry backers, and especially to DeLauro, a solid progressive who was handed a thankless task, the platform is an improvement on the documents produced by the party for the Clinton and Gore campaigns. In deference to Kerry's personal opposition to the death penalty, it drops references to backing capital punishment. It respects the advice of former Senator Gary Hart about how to do national security right—with real investments in infrastructure at ports and other vulnerable sites—and it adopts Kerry's good thinking on the need to achieve energy independence. It features tougher language about the need to include labor and environmental standards in trade agreements. It proposes a $7-an-hour minimum wage. It supports the establishment of a Palestinian state, a stance never before featured in a Democratic Party platform—although the call comes with strings attached that impede the establishment of a viable independent state. And, thanks to pressure from Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., a Howard Dean backer who brought a measure of that campaign's feistiness as a platform committee member, it includes some strong language on the need to insure that "every vote is counted fully and fairly."

But even with that improvement, Jackson correctly notes, "This is a cautious platform. It says the one priority of Democrats is to beat George Bush. That's a good goal. But I'm still looking forward to the day when we recognize that the best way to elect Democrats is not with caution but with the boldness that builds mass movements for change."

JOHN NICHOLS

**ON THE WEB**

Check out www.thenation.com during the week of the Democratic National Convention in Boston, July 26–29, for a host of special features—updated many times daily. There'll be new weblogs, an events calendar, archival selections, *RadioNation* audio commentary and exclusive online reporting. See page 42 for details.

Also on the web: Read *Nation* contributor Esther Kaplan's report from the International AIDS Conference in Bangkok and legal affairs correspondent David Cole's account of his first—and, he was assured, his last—appearance on *The O'Reilly Factor*.

# *Kerry: No W. (& No Bill)*

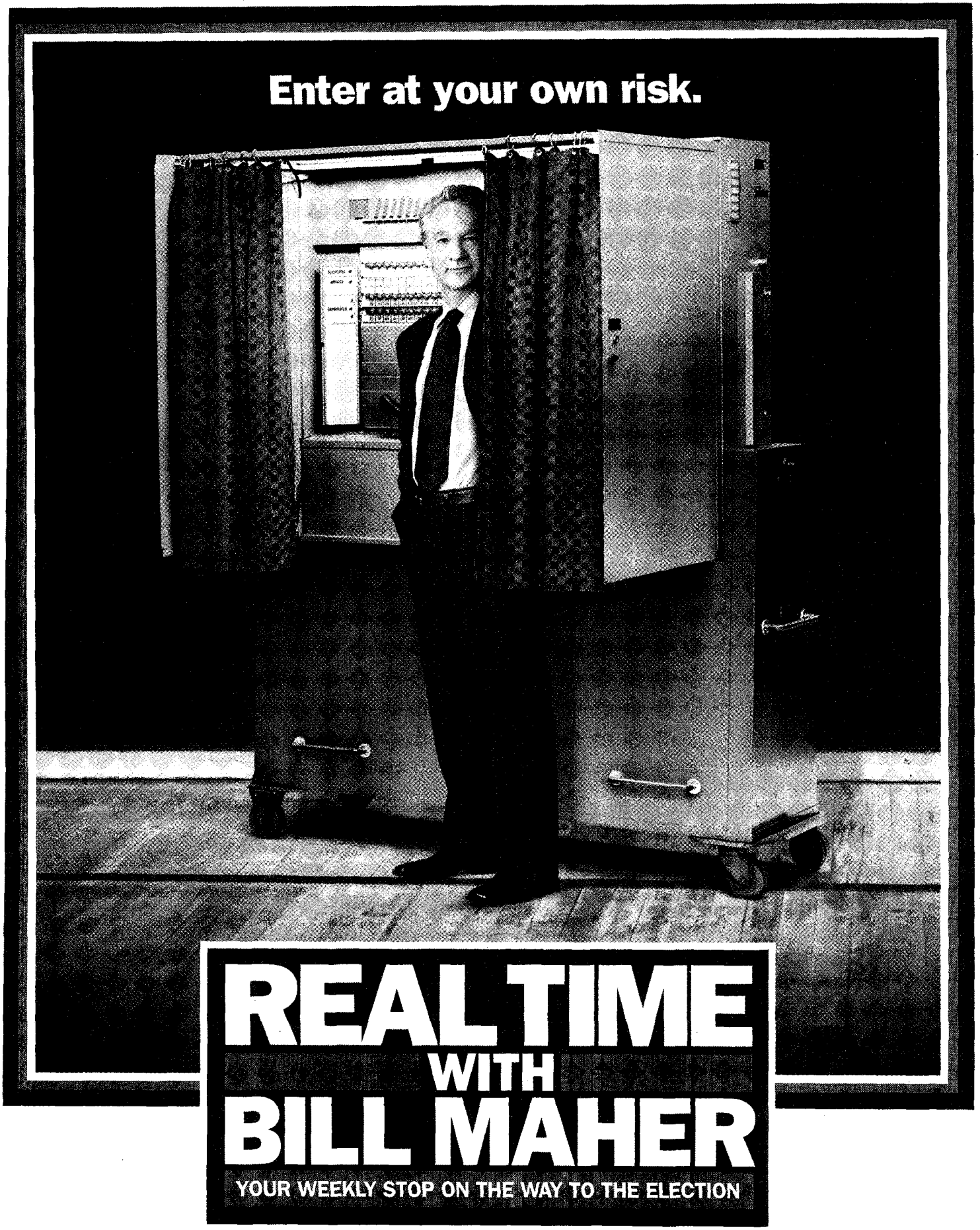
A friend of mine in Los Angeles reports listening to a radio station that caters to middle-class African-Americans and hearing repeatedly from hosts and callers that there's little difference between George W. Bush and John Kerry. "People keep saying they're both Skull and Bones guys," she says. "So why bother?"

It's a pity our political system doesn't produce a more diverse range of choices. It's also a pity that some voters don't discern the Texas-size gap between these two Yalies. And it is troubling that polls show Bush voters to be more committed to their man than Kerry voters are to theirs. Of course, Kerry is largely responsible for this. He's no dynamo on the stump. But that's always been the case, and Democrats and anti-Bush voters still waiting for Kerry to seduce, charm or excite them and others—by changing his style or by issuing bold, imagination-capturing policy proposals—should give it a rest. Kerry's limitations are not going to disappear between now and Election Day. Yet it is important that Democrats and potential Kerry voters perceive him—and talk about him—as more than an Anybody-but-Bush placeholder.

That's not always easy. Kerry can get lost in nuance, not a trait associated with strong leaders (though the country could use a leader who recognizes, let alone appreciates, nuances). He has voted consistently for abortion rights—earning a 100 percent rating from Planned Parenthood—but when asked about abortion he ruminated that he might consider appointing an antiabortion judge to a lower bench. His supporters shook their heads. His foes claimed it as evidence of his "flip-flopping" ways. So, a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Enter at your own risk.



REAL TIME
WITH
BILL MAHER

YOUR WEEKLY STOP ON THE WAY TO THE ELECTION

BRAD GREY TELEVISION

LIVE! FRIDAYS 11PM/10C. PREMIERES JULY 30

HBO®

Subscribe online at HBO.com AOL Keyword: HBO ©2004 Home Box Office, Inc. All rights reserved. HBO® is a service mark of Home Box Office, Inc. Tape delayed on the West Coast.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stalwart choice supporter found himself explaining a position that should need no explanation.

On the Iraq war, Kerry voted to grant Bush authority to attack but called on him to try all other options and create a truly multilateral coalition before launching an invasion. He did not support the war, as some detractors on the left charge, but he did enable it. That, too, has required explaining. Nowadays, he gets criticism from progressives for not presenting a bold plan for extricating us from Iraq. But short of supporting an immediate withdrawal of US troops—which many believe could lead to civil war and a troubled state useful for terrorists—what fundamental policy change might Kerry offer at this juncture? The current UN position is that US troops can remain until the end of next year, as long as the interim Iraqi government agrees. Bush has signed off on this schedule. Should Kerry, who has urged doing more to internationalize security forces in Iraq, pledge to yank US troops before then? Even without international replacements? Good policy or not, it's doubtful such a move would rally millions of undecided voters for Kerry. It also is not unreasonable for him and his supporters to claim as key talking points that (a) Kerry would not have created this mess in the first place and (b) he is better equipped to deal with the problems Bush has spawned. This is not a bold argument, but it has the benefit of plausibility.

Even if the former war hero turned antiwar leader cannot offer an audacious peace plan, Kerry has other assets that should jazz up Democrats and progressives. As GOPers note ceaselessly, the *National Journal* rated him the most liberal member of the Senate. Shouldn't libs be overjoyed to have their number-one supporter as the nominee? Kerry has been a steady pal of environmentalists; he calls for an energy-independence initiative that would boost alternative energy. He advocates raising the minimum wage and spending hundreds of billions to expand healthcare coverage. (It's not universal health insurance, but it's a stab at the problem.) He fought against Bush's tax cuts for the wealthy. He has championed arms control. He led the charge against Reagan's covert war in Central America and mounted a gutsy investigation exposing connections between the CIA-backed *contra* rebels and drug runners. With his probe of the crooked BCCI bank—a financial haven for terrorists, shady businessmen and spy services, including the CIA—he took on corruption that extended into his own party. He has endorsed full public financing of elections.

Kerry did support NAFTA, and he has proposed corporate tax cuts to spur investments. He once raised questions about the political costs of affirmative action (while still backing such programs). He's not a Wellstone Democrat. But compare Kerry with Bill Clinton, who still captivates the Democratic faithful. When Clinton ran for President, he burnished his centrist credentials by pushing welfare "reform" and advocating highly punitive crime legislation. This year, Kerry's post-primary lurch to the center entails cooling down the populist rhetoric (which he borrowed from his Democratic rivals) and emphasizing his "values." He has done nothing as crass as when Clinton left the campaign trail in 1992 to return to Arkansas for the execution of a mentally disabled convict. Kerry, a former prosecutor, opposes capital punishment. (For the first time in years, the Democratic platform does not support the death penalty.)

Sure, it would be better for Democrats if their man charged up the voters. But Democratic primary voters anointed a fellow who reassures more than inspires. And although it may be a conviction on the left that if a candidate calls heartily for universal healthcare, massive reinvestment in jobs and expansion of social programs, he will electrify the electorate and stride to victory, this formula is not always rewarded. Look at Dennis Kucinich. Howard Dean, too, was bolder than Kerry, and that alone was not the ticket. In any event, asking Kerry to be bolder is like asking Bush to be smarter. The Democrats would likely crush Bush if Kerry exuded Clintonesque charisma and had people yapping at the water cooler about his great new ideas for creating high-wage jobs, strengthening the country's social fabric, making the United States safe and ending the war in Iraq. That's not going to happen. Still, Kerry has more to offer—in qualities and ideas—than many other prominent Democrats. If he doesn't convey that fully, it is up to others to do so.

DAVID CORN

# *Slow-Gear Democrats*

In many ways, Senator John Kerry is the perfect candidate for the Democratic Party—handsome and serious, well regarded if not widely loved, deeply experienced in governing policy and sincerely committed to advancing the public good. Above all, Kerry can be counted on not to disturb the party's uptight wariness toward big ideas and adventurous goals. His meticulous self-caution may be the unspoken reason he was picked as everybody's default candidate. With Kerry, the long-stewing intramural arguments over what exactly the Democratic Party stands for could be deferred once again. The watchword for 2004 became: Please, no fussing and fighting—we're Democrats. Dems are, instead, united in an effort to relieve the country of its failed President. They expect Kerry to win the people's gratitude for not being George W. Bush.

In that event, the gratitude may be short-lived. The Democratic Party has been stuck in slow gear for two decades, as it struggled honorably and heroically to defend important accomplishments from its past against right-wing onslaughts. It struggled, too, to win national elections, recognizing that its old themes no longer seemed to work but deeply divided over how to refresh the agenda with new ideas. As Democratic elected ranks dwindled, the party chose accommodation or shyness. Are Democrats going to be known as aggressive reformers, propelled by advanced ideas from the bottom up? Or do they now see themselves mainly as sound managers, still sensitive but less provocative, steering government in a more business-friendly manner? Bill Clinton charmed his way through these tensions. The party was rewarded with minority status.

John Kerry did not create this ambiguity of purpose, but he also does not intend to resolve it. His career and carefully nuanced positions suggest he is comfortable with straddle politics, and may not even regard it as a problem. He will manage the quandary—with less guile than Clinton but also less skill. Kerry strikes me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

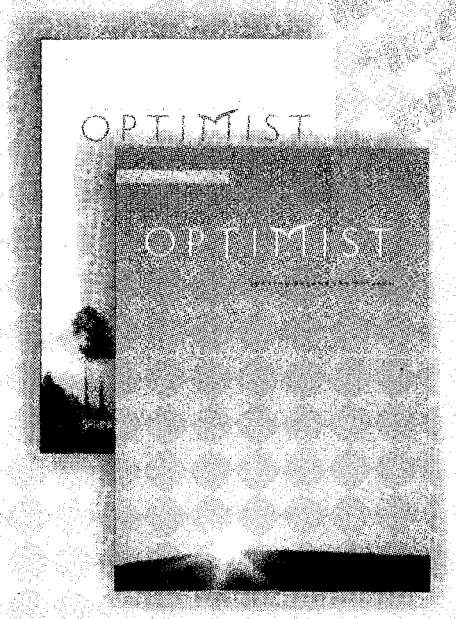
*"I have always been an optimist, convinced that determination, solidarity and foresight can lead to positive change even in the face of adversity. Today we need more active optimists committed to building a safer, fairer and healthier future. This new magazine encourages people to grasp the challenges of our times with both hands and take action."*

**Mikhail Gorbachev**

## New International Quarterly Magazine

# THE GREEN CROSS OPTIMIST

**Vandana Shiva**
**Jean-Michel Cousteau**
**Shimon Peres**
**Ted Turner**
**Klaus Töpfer**
**Lester Brown**
**Mario Soares**
**Oscar Arias**
**Henrique Cardoso**
**Anna Tibaijuka**
***have all contributed articles to the Optimist magazine***




☑ Yes, I would like to subscribe to The Green Cross Optimist with this coupon!

**VIP edition**

| $59.00 | $119.00 | $179.00 | $199.00 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 issue | 2 issues | 3 issues | Annual (4 issues) |

**Standard edition**

| $11.00 | $22.00 | $33.00 | $35.00 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 issue | 2 issues | 3 issues | Annual (4 issues) |

(Please circle the desired option)

| | |
|---|---|
| Name * | |
| Country * | |
| Job Title | |
| Company | |
| Address * | |
| E-mail * | |

Payment Options * required field

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Check | | |
| Credit Card | Eurocard/MasterCard | Visa |
| | American Express | Diners Club |
| Card Number | | |
| Expiry Date | | |

I would like to receive The Green Cross Optimist magazine in the following language:

- English
- Russian
- French
- Spanish
- German
- Italian

**Send this form to:**
The Green Cross Optimist
c/o The Guardian Weekly
P.O. Box 2515, Champlain
New York 12919-2515
Fax: 514 697 3490 (from outside North America +1 514 697 3490)

**Subscribe online at:**
www.optimistmag.org

**Or contact us at:**
Tel: Toll Free 1 888 834 1106 (from outside North America +1 888 834 1106)
Email: subscribe@optimistmag.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

as a man who loves government but dislikes politics. That is, he has a genuine talent for working through the complexities of high policy in Washington (a quality utterly missing in the incumbent). But Kerry seems quite uncomfortable in the raw, uncharted politics of opening up new terrain—recognizing the potential of untested ideas and mobilizing untapped popular forces to support them. The party's great Presidents were, above all, politicians with such creative skills.

The weakness is not Kerry's alone. The contemporary Democratic Party has also drawn back from the kind of up-close engagement with ordinary people that used to be its hallmark. It is still very much a top-down operation, despite this year's efforts to knock on doors and talk to real people. The mass-market technologies of television-driven campaigns encouraged this distancing but have also weakened the party's ability to listen and learn, to grasp what's bubbling up in people's lives and how Democrats might respond imaginatively. A disconnected politician can still win elections, given the uses of big money, but he may also be blindsided by political upthrusts he didn't see coming. He loses self-confidence. He relies more anxiously on abstracted analyses from polls, policy experts and pricey consultants. Kerry's career and campaign reflect these limitations. Within his party, losing touch is a low-grade disease.

Yet, having said all that, I expect Kerry to win this election. My midsummer hunch is he may even win it going away, with the strength to elect a Democratic Senate if not also the House. The warrior President is breaking up before our eyes—trapped by the consequences of his own dumb arrogance and cynicism. Suddenly, the clever manipulations of popular emotions are no longer able to override the visible facts. People can see the man is inadequate, also fraudulent. For some, the retribution is delicious, for others it is embarrassing. Either way, Bush looks like a goner. Only missteps by Kerry could save him (which I do not expect).

If Kerry does win, the gut question facing Democrats again—how do they intend to govern?—can no longer be evaded. If the policy advisers Kerry assembled for his campaign populate the upper ranks of his government, we can definitely expect Clinton lite. Most are Clintonoid retreads, both in economic and foreign policy, schooled to think small and adhere to the conventional center-right principles. Naturally, they would deflect any serious pursuit of many large issues that animate the party's rank and file: globalization, corporate power, ecology, public investment on a major scale, getting out of Iraq and not repeating that bloody folly elsewhere.

Kerry, I expect (at least hope), is shrewder and deeper than appearances. Even if he's not, events are not going to cooperate with a straddling strategy and may push him in bolder directions. The economy—deeply wounded by the consequences of Clintonomics—is still trying to regain its normal balance and energies. Inequalities are sure to expand harshly if, as some business types privately expect, the postelection economy slips into stagnation or worse. In those circumstances, the Clinton straddle—balance the budget and let the conservative Federal Reserve run the economy—would become intolerable, especially from a Democratic President. On foreign policy, Kerry will have to decide whether to continue Bush's "war on terror" as a rational premise for reordering American society or begin talking common sense to Americans about national security before militarism swallows up everything else.

To succeed as President (though he probably doesn't yet realize this), Kerry will need what his party has long suppressed—a full-throated, deeply contentious debate about its core beliefs and aspirations. Elites abhor the thought, but popular agitation could give Kerry the incentive to change and adopt a far stronger agenda (just as JFK was moved to embrace civil rights). The loose assembly known as left-liberal-labor progressives will doubtless be urged to lower their voices so as not to make life more difficult for the new President. Just as Clinton did, Kerry may ask them to hold off on their reform objectives. They should aggressively do the opposite, in my view. Progressives will be in a weak position with Kerry. They may constitute his electoral base, but Kerry carefully declined to embrace their larger agenda. If they accept that as the last word, their aspirations will become even more marginalized within the party.

In victory, progressives should make themselves a force for troublemaking and ankle-biting (much as right-wing counterparts do for the Republicans). Left-liberals, including organized labor, also have the out-of-touch disease. Having yearned so long for a liberal restoration, many left-of-center stalwarts have not yet answered the tougher question: Why, exactly, do the old liberal formulations no longer generate a stable majority? Perhaps because they no longer speak coherently, convincingly, to the changed circumstances of ordinary Americans or the bizarre deformities wrought by concentrated power in government and the economy. The underlying principles do not change, but progressives cannot change the party until they have also changed themselves. That challenge becomes real if Bush loses and Dems get to govern again. If Kerry loses despite his promising prospects, the party will bathe in bloody recriminations.

WILLIAM GREIDER

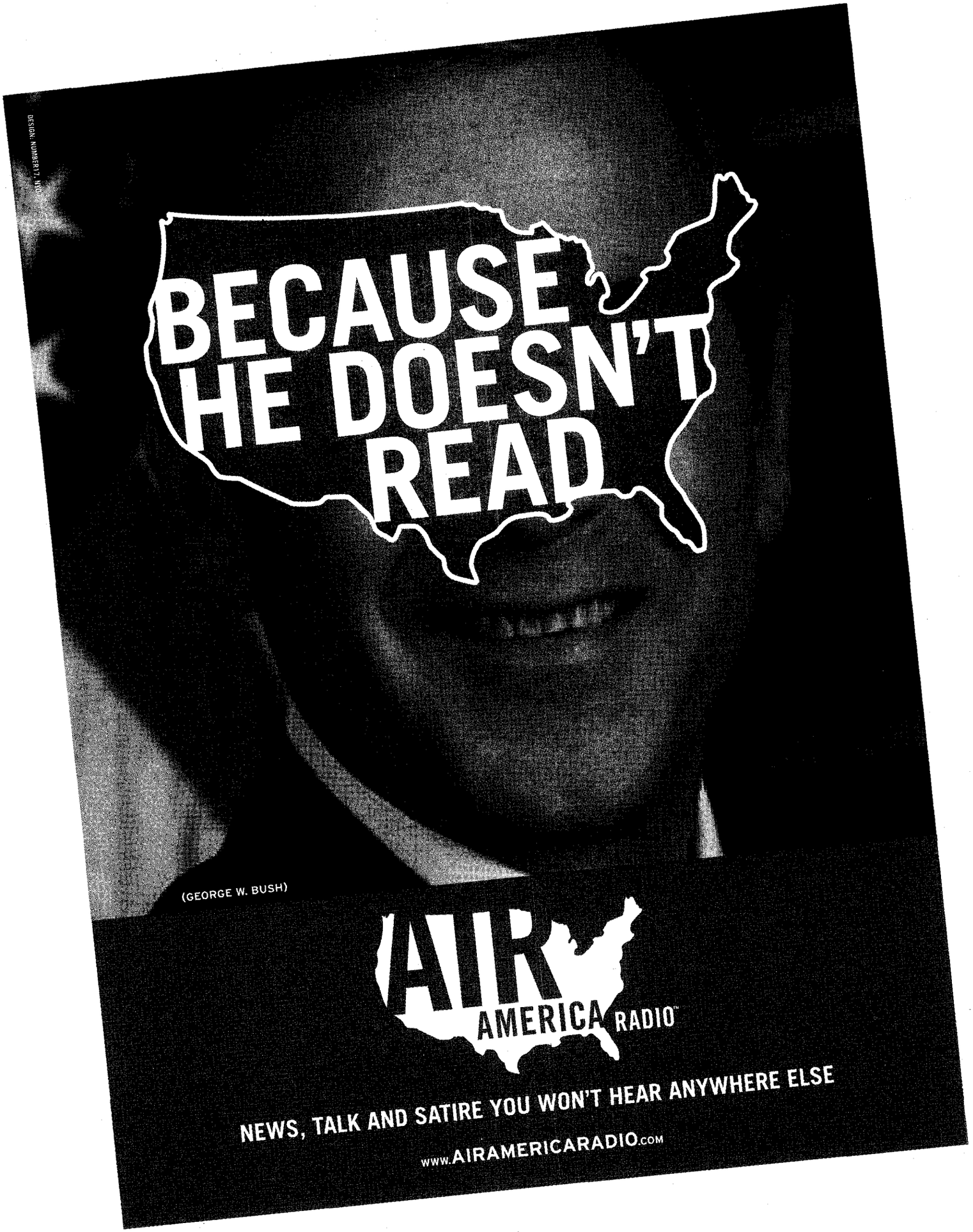
CALVIN TRILLIN

## FOR THE DAY RALPH NADER SHUFFLES OFF THIS MORTAL COIL

In canned obits that papers keep,
The second graf relates
The fact that Nader gave us Bush,
Through votes in several states.

And now he's on another quest
He knows cannot succeed.
It's possible the second graf
May yet become the lead.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


BECAUSE HE DOESN'T READ
(GEORGE W. BUSH)
AIR AMERICA RADIO™
NEWS, TALK AND SATIRE YOU WON'T HEAR ANYWHERE ELSE
WWW.AIRAMERICARADIO.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JONATHAN SCHELL

# Healing the Law

The Supreme Court of the United States has had two historic encounters with George W. Bush. The first was its decision to stop the recount of the presidential vote in Florida in December 2000 and, in effect, to put Bush in the White House. The second was the series of decisions rendered in June in the cases regarding the detainees in Guantánamo and the two American citizens being held as "enemy combatants."

I was watching television coverage at the moment the Court stayed the Florida recount and witnessed a vote counter lift her hand to examine a ballot and then, when the news of the decision came, drop it, with evident sadness, back onto the uncounted pile. The law, usually seen as a support and foundation of democracy, had in this case visibly stopped it cold.

The decision sent a shock wave through the legal community. Some 673 law professors from 173 law schools signed a statement asserting that "by stopping the vote count in Florida, the US Supreme Court used its power to act as political partisans, not as judges of a court of law." Professor Robert Post, then teaching constitutional law at UC Berkeley, wrote that the decision made him feel "shame" before his students. There rose up before his eyes "a searing and disorienting vision of a world without law."

Even Post probably could not have imagined how quickly the vision would materialize. For if the policies of the Bush Administration have exhibited any one constant theme, it has been contempt, visceral as well as philosophical, in domestic as well as foreign affairs, for law. The Administration's distaste for international treaties and laws soon became evident. The President withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol on global warming and the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, pulled out of talks to create an inspection system for the Biological Weapons Convention and "unsigned" the Rome statute for the creation of an International Criminal Court. Since laws and legal opinions come into effect only upon signing, the act of "unsigning"—an invention of the White House, with no precedent in the annals of the presidency—seemed to symbolize a world of evaporating statutes.

The deed was one aspect of a comprehensive onslaught, which quickly unfolded, on the very idea of law. Its chief elements were the claim by and for the United States, and the United States alone, of a right and duty to order the twenty-first-century world through the use of America's unchallengeable military force. The vision's essential corollaries were the right to wage preventive war and to overthrow other governments violently and unilaterally. Its goals were to stop the spread (but not reverse the existing possession) of weapons of mass destruction and to remake the world politically and economically in the image of the United States.

The conflict between this vision—correctly called imperial by many of its supporters as well as its detractors—and international law is not incidental but systemic. The ideas of empire and of international law are both ordering principles: Both are means for organizing the world. They are in competition for the same turf. The world can no more be both an imperial world and a world of law than one car can be driven by two people to two places at the same time. Or, to be exact, to the extent that the imperial vision advances, the legal project must be thrown back and vice versa. The essence of law is the establishment of a single consistent standard, which is to be obeyed by ruled and ruler alike. The essence of empire is imposition of a double standard—with one standard for the imperial ruler, another for the ruled. The imperial principles of preventive wars and regime change cannot be principles of international law, because their universalization would bring chaos.

The point, of course, is not that in the year 2000 the world was governed according to law (for it was not) only to be suddenly thrown into disorder by the imperial ambitions of President Bush. Rather a slow evolution, which had made surprisingly good progress since the end of the cold war, toward a more cooperative, lawful world was thrown into reverse by the rise of a rival imperial vision. The title of an article by Richard Perle, chairman of the Defense Policy Board, on the significant occasion of the launch of the Iraq war, summed up what was afoot: "Thank God for the death of the UN: Its abject failure gave us only anarchy. The world needs order." He went on to write, "As we sift the debris, it will be important to preserve, the better to understand, the intellectual wreckage of the liberal conceit of safety through international law administered by international institutions."

The disclosure of the use of torture in America's offshore detention system revealed a subterranean dimension of the conflict between empire and law. Torture is a common product of imperial rule. It is especially likely to occur when imperial violence meets resistance, as it soon did in Iraq, giving rise to the torture at Abu Ghraib prison and elsewhere. Even the refusal of Guantánamo detainees to give information under interrogation was interpreted, well before the Iraq war, as "resistance." Therefore "counter-resistance" techniques, in the words of one Pentagon memo, were developed. They included death threats to detainees and feigned threats to their families and suffocation by water torture. On February 7, 2002, President Bush wrote in a secret memo later made public, "Our nation recognizes that this new paradigm—ushered in not by us, but by terrorists—requires new thinking in the law of war." The call for new thinking was soon answered in a stream of legal memos. The Justice Department advised the executive branch that neither international treaties, such as the Geneva Conventions, nor the laws passed by Congress—including, of course, the US Criminal Code—could in any way limit a President's right to order torture or otherwise abuse prisoners, while Pentagon lawyers stated: "Any effort by Congress to regulate the interrogation of unlawful combatants would violate the Constitution's sole vesting of the Commander-in-Chief authority in the President."

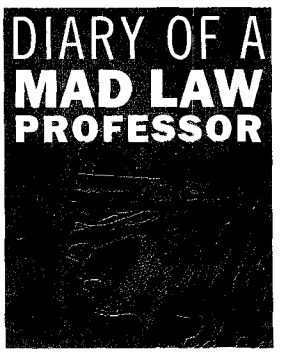
These memos were produced in secret. In public, the Administration put forward a claim scarcely less breathtaking in its sweep: It asserted its power to designate any person, including any American citizen, as an enemy combatant and to imprison that person indefinitely without any right to legal representation, to receive visits or to file habeas corpus or any other petition before a court to establish innocence. No less than in the torture

(Continued on Page 42)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

# Lead Balloons




I'm riding an elevator in downtown Boston. There is a sign warning of travel restrictions during the last week of July. A woman gets on. We both stare ahead as per elevator etiquette. She reads the sign, raises an elegant hand and brushes the words gently. "Nothing's worth this...," she sighs. I laugh sympathetically; she gets off at the next floor.

Yet nothing's more worth this, I think into the empty elevator.

I'm in Boston for the time being, visiting my parents and watching the city ready itself for the Democratic National Convention. Tom Ridge is reportedly in town, overseeing security arrangements. Roadblocks are going up over a thirty-mile radius, some subway stations will be closed, and "chem-packs" have been distributed to emergency workers. Fresh-faced policemen in crisp uniforms are everywhere, good-daying people, affecting an alert but casual stroll. It feels like the Fourth of July and Y2K bundled into one great knot of excitement and pure dread—a mood suspended between civic pride and who's-idea-was-this-anyway, between stocking up on gas masks and fleeing to the Cape.

I'm staying put, because my parents can't travel just now and besides, I don't like the idea of everyone backing away so fearfully from a fundamental part of our self-governance. It takes bravery to participate actively in any democracy, when you come right down to it. We have lost some of our sense of the centrality of the electoral process in the years since the height of the civil rights movement; we have grown more cynical, perhaps, some might say more corrupt, and now, most certainly, afraid. I consider myself lucky to have been reminded constantly of the necessity of resoluteness by so many of my international students, from South Africa, from Croatia, from Poland, from China—all of whom speak of the American civil rights movement as impetus in their bit of the global quest for equality and political participation. And so I go about my business, refusing to flee to the suburbs, hoping that our big, noisy political contests will not yet turn into closeted events high atop mountains, like Davos.

If the threat of terrorism were not enough, both the Democratic and Republican national conventions will be important testing grounds for civil liberties. New rules purport to allow searches of subway riders without probable cause. And as lots of groups (including the policemen's union) line up for permits to rally and picket, large numbers of others call into talk-radio programs, denouncing dissent as dangerous. Gathering "collectively" is made to sound so threatening, so un-American.

Indeed, under the USA Patriot Act, civil disobedience is actually conflated with terrorism. Section 802 defines domestic terrorism as including any acts of social protest or dissent that "involve acts dangerous to human life" and that violate "the criminal laws of the United States or of any state" with intent to "intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion" or "affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping." Note that the disjunctives—the placement of the "or"s—mean that assassination and kidnapping carry the same weight as intimidation in defining a "terrorist." As civil libertarians have pointed out repeatedly, many of Martin Luther King's protests—lying limp in a roadway, for example—could easily be construed as "acts dangerous to human life," with intent to "intimidate" or "coerce" a civilian population. The sanction under this new law could raise the penalty from misdemeanor to felony but also risks categorizing peace protesters with the suspicious types whose funds may be frozen and whose activities may be "preventively" aborted.

May we look back on this time and find that all we had to kvetch about was gridlock. But my anxiety is further fed by a new one of those ominous little balloons-of-the-unthinkable that the Bush Administration has floated from time to time, beginning right after 9/11. You know the ones I mean. First, a careful little leak: e.g., word has it that the Office of Legal Counsel has been asked to consider something that makes you spew your morning decaf latte into a frothy little spume. Military detention camps? No habeas corpus? Citizens as enemy combatants? Legalized torture? Then the White House denies it was anything but a hypothetical discussion, purely academic, how rude of you to take them literally. Little pop-up quiz boxes on the Internet ask, "What do YOU think?" as though the Geneva Conventions were a contestant on *American Idol*. The public pulse thus taken, the whole thing disappears until, after months of foment (as with Abu Ghraib) or years of litigation (as with due process for detainees), the issue erupts as the horror show nobody could have believed. We are aggrieved. They promise never to let it happen again.

But as for the latest balloon: The Administration has floated the "doomsday" possibility of delaying the presidential election if there is a terrorist strike, even as Homeland Security assures us that the question is not if but when. Suspending a federal election would require rewriting our election law, so the Office of Legal Counsel has been pondering, you know, just toying with the idea of whether a nice little piece of "emergency" legislation wouldn't do the trick. Like earlier balloons, this one was followed by quick denials that any such action would ever be necessary.

Let us hope that there remains enough bipartisan good sense to make sure this one doesn't get off the ground. Delaying an election at the federal level would require not just an act of Congress but probably also a messy shutdown of the states' electoral mechanisms, to say nothing of the selection of delegates to the Electoral College. That in turn would require an exercise of unusually centralized power, perhaps resembling that of Afghanistan or Iraq or any of the other places we are supposedly liberating.

The closest we have ever come to the suspension of an election was during the Civil War, and even then Abraham Lincoln decided that "we cannot have a free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forgo, or postpone, a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered us." ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

# Wrong Again

Nearly every day brings fresh evidence that the Bush Administration deliberately undermined the security of this nation by misleading us into a costly and potentially ruinous war in Iraq. If Republicans were not in control of Congress, these would be impeachable offenses—far worse than anything Bill Clinton or even Richard Nixon ever did. And yet, by muddying the waters through clever manipulation of the known facts (free of vigorous challenge from the media), the Administration stands a strong chance of getting away with it. With the help of Republican stooge Ralph Nader and his misguided supporters, they may just win their first election.

Take, for example, the Senate Intelligence Committee's recent CIA report. Congress, the White House and most of the mainstream media offer a picture in which US foreign policy was led astray by the feverish fantasies of CIA analysts, every one of whom had been hypnotized into unlearning the difference between "we know," "we suspect" and "this drunk somewhere in Germany told someone..." Conveniently, George Tenet, the only high-level Clinton-era holdover, was selected to take the fall.

Both Jay Rockefeller and Pat Roberts, the committee's ranking Democrat and Republican, have admitted that if Congress had known then what it knows now, it would not have authorized the Administration to go to war. As Rockefeller observed upon the report's release, as a result of having been led to war under false pretenses, "Our credibility is diminished. Our standing in the world has never been lower. We have fostered a deep hatred of Americans in the Muslim world, and that will grow."

It is thanks in part to the Democrats' weakness in Congress that the Bush Administration has been able to convey the impression of having been (along with Congress and the rest of us) the innocent victim of a CIA misinformation campaign—much easier since the committee postponed its examination of the Administration's pre-war hype until after the election. But this misimpression is also a product of the selective amnesia of much of the media that covered the release of the report. In fact, almost everything we have learned about the shoddiness of the case for war was known at the time we were being stampeded into it. As the tireless Warren Strobel and Jonathan Landay reported for the Knight Ridder chain back in October 2002, "Intelligence professionals and diplomats...privately have deep misgivings about the administration's double-time march toward war. These officials charge that administration hawks have exaggerated evidence of the threat that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein poses [and]...charge that the administration squelches dissenting views and that intelligence analysts are under intense pressure to produce reports supporting the White House's argument that Hussein poses such an immediate threat to the United States that pre-emptive military action is necessary." The reporters quoted one anonymous official who noted, "Analysts at the working level in the intelligence community are feeling very strong pressure from the Pentagon to cook the intelligence books."

Throughout the bureaucracy, evidence abounded for anyone who cared to look. For instance, a secret September 2002 report of the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency informed Secretary Rumsfeld, "There is no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing and stockpiling chemical weapons, or whether Iraq has—or will—establish its chemical warfare agent production facilities," according to a report obtained by *U.S. News & World Report*. When Bruce Hardcastle, a defense intelligence officer for the Middle East, South Asia and Counterterrorism, explained to the Bush officials that they were misreading the evidence, according to Patrick Lang, former head of Human Intelligence at the CIA, the Bush Administration not only removed Hardcastle from his post, "they did away with his job. They wanted just liaison officers who were junior. They didn't want a senior intelligence person who argued with them. Hardcastle said, 'I couldn't deal with these people.' They are such ideologues that they knew what the outcome should be and they thought when they didn't get it from intelligence people they thought they were stupid. They start with an almost pseudo-religious faith. They wanted the intelligence agencies to produce material to show a threat, particularly an imminent threat. Then they worked back to prove their case. It was the opposite of what the process should have been like."

Meanwhile, we also have compelling evidence that at least some in the Administration knew quite well the true state of Saddam's arsenal. In a February 2001 meeting with Egypt's foreign minister in Cairo, Secretary of State Powell said of the UN sanctions then in force against Saddam's Iraq, "Frankly, they have worked. He has not developed any significant capability with respect to weapons of mass destruction. He is unable to project conventional power against his neighbors."

Apparently accustomed to getting away with ignoring reality in almost all its forms, both Bush and Cheney remained adamantly oblivious in their responses to the report's release. The President robotically repeated, "We were right to go into Iraq. America is safer today because we did. We removed a declared enemy of America, who had the capability of producing weapons of mass destruction and could have passed that capability to terrorists bent on acquiring them." A spokesman for Cheney, as if speaking from an alternative universe, told a reporter that the committee findings were consistent with Administration claims.

How long will the mainstream media lie prostrate for this kind of insulting and deeply contemptuous nonsense, which weakens our nation and leaves us more vulnerable to attack than we were before? Personally, I think it's long past time to tell Mr. Cheney and his sorry sidekick to go fuck themselves.

* * *

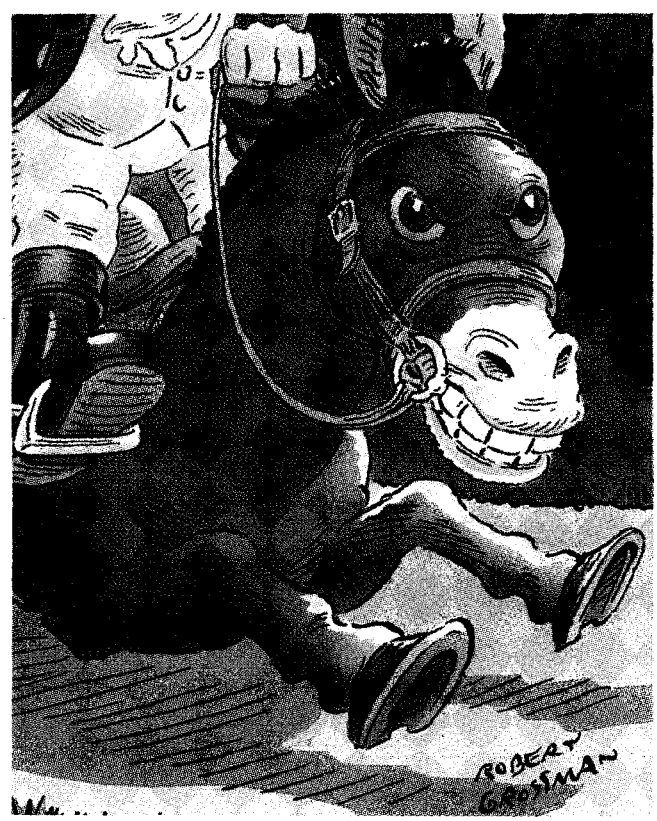
I have decided to rename this column "The Liberal Media," in part to coincide with two books I've agreed to write on the history of postwar American liberalism and in part because, well, that's what I am. But I'll continue to cover the So-Called Liberal Media. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

# HOW KERRY CAN WIN

by KEVIN PHILLIPS




John Kerry can win, given George W. Bush's incompetence, and White House strategists realize that. All the Democrats need to do is to peel away some of the Republican "unbase"—the most wobbly members of the GOP coalition. The caveat is that not many Democrats understand that coalition or why it has beaten the Democrats most of the time since 1968. Nor do most understand the convoluted but related role of Bill Clinton in aborting what could have been a 1992–2004 (or 2008) mini-cycle of Democratic White House dominance and in paving the way for George W.

Elements of this shortsightedness are visible in both the party and the Kerry campaign. While attempts to harness "Anybody but Bush" psychologies and to attract voters without saying much that is controversial might win Kerry a narrow victory, this strategy would be unlikely to create a framework for successful four- or eight-year governance. Deconstructing the Republican coalition is a better long-term bet, and could be done. The result, however, might be to uncage serious progressive reform.

Republicans, in contrast, have been successful in thinking strategically since the late 1960s. From 1968 until Bill Clinton's triumph in 1992, Republicans won five of the six presidential elections, and even Jimmy Carter's narrow victory in 1976 was in many respects a post-Watergate fluke. The two main coalitional milestones were Richard Nixon's 61 percent in 1972 and Ronald Reagan's 59 percent in 1984.

The two Bushes, notwithstanding their dynastic achievement, represent the later-stage weakness of the coalition, which would have been more obvious without the moral rebukes of Clinton that were critical in the 1994 and 2000 elections. In the three presidential elections the Bushes have fought to date, their percentages of the total national vote have been 53.9 percent (1988), 37.7 percent (1992) and 47.9 percent (2000)—an average of 46.5 percent. Keep in mind that in 1992, Bush Senior got the smallest vote share of any President seeking re-election since William Howard Taft in 1912, while in 2000, the younger Bush became the first President to be elected without winning a plurality of the popular vote since Benjamin Harrison in 1888. The aftermath of 9/11 created transient strength, but the essential weakness of the Bushes was palpable again by mid-2004.

Strategizing on behalf of a family with more luck and lineage than gravitas, the principal strategists for each Bush President—Lee Atwater for number 41 and Karl Rove for number 43—have necessarily been Machiavellian students of the Republican presidential coalition and how to maintain it. After helping to elect 41 in 1988 because Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis was an Ivy League technocrat unconvincing as an occasional populist, Atwater observed that "the way to win a presidential election against the Republicans is to develop the class-warfare issue, as Dukakis did at the end. To divide up the have and have-nots." Since then, the focus on keeping Republicans together has evolved and intensified.

Despite the Republican weakness evident in 1992 and Bush's second-place finish in 2000, Rove is notable for his preoccupation with the GOP "base," which he presumably thinks of in normal majoritarian terms. However, in the case of Bush's running for election or re-election, it is also useful—and the Democrats of 2004 would find it particularly worthwhile—to focus on the GOP's "unbase." This, in essence, is the 20–25 percent of the party electorate that has been won at various points by three national anti-Bush primary and general election candidates with Republican origins: Ross Perot (1992), John McCain (2000) and, in a lesser vein, Patrick Buchanan (1992). Most of the shared Perot-McCain issues—campaign and elec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion reform, opposition to the religious right, distaste for Washington lobbyists, opposition to upper-bracket tax biases and runaway deficits, criticism of corporations and CEOs—are salient today and more compatible with the mainstream moderate reformist Democratic viewpoint than with the lobbyist-driven Bush Administration. Perot and Buchanan's economic nationalism (anti-outsourcing, anti-NAFTA) and criticism of Iraq policy under the two Bushes is also shared by many Democrats.

Taking things somewhat further, these members of the "unbase" of the Republican presidential coalition ought to be the Democrats' key target because (1) they have some degree of skepticism about Bush and (2) they are the segment of the GOP coalition most logically open to recruitment for a progressive realignment, short-term or otherwise. That is the way small or large realignments work: by wooing the most empathetic part of the current coalition.

In 1992, when Perot drew 19 percent of the November vote, George Bush Senior got only about 80 percent of the Republican vote. Most of the "unbase" and part of the base deserted. If McCain had been well funded in 2000, he might have been able to get 30–40 percent in GOP primaries nationally, and even without serious money, he did win the primaries in seven states, including New Hampshire, Michigan and Connecticut. Sticking with the idea that the GOP "unbase" is somewhere between 20 percent and 25 percent, Bush can afford to lose 5 to 7 percent of the overall Republican electorate. But if he loses 10 percent, he's probably done for, and if he drops 15 percent, he's finished.

*It is the Perot-McCain constituency, more than the elite Democratic entente, that could best catalyze a bipartisan progressive coalition.*

It could happen. Back in late winter, when Kerry still had a winner's aura from the primaries, one CBS News poll showed 11 percent of those who had voted for Bush in 2000 were unprepared to do so in 2004. That was enough to put Kerry ahead, at least until the GOP's spring advertising blitz.

Kerry looked better by late June, but part of the reason for Kerry's—and the Democrats'—failure to capitalize on Bush's weaknesses is that they seem unable to decide between two very different strategies. One might be called the Wall Street strategy, which includes rhetoric about failed policies in Iraq and GOP tax cuts that pander to the rich, but avoids most specifics or bold indictments of Bush failure. Critiques of US economic polarization, NAFTA or globalization are sidestepped, and the example of Clinton-era federal deficit reduction so admired by Wall Street is held up. Indeed, Kerry's demeanor is appropriate to a man married into one of the biggest US corporate fortunes.

It is plausible to think that this will enable Kerry to draw a slightly improved vote among upper-middle-class and even fat-cat Republicans disenchanted with Bush as an incompetent cowboy who has bungled Iraq and pandered to Falwell, Robertson and Bob Jones University. Pinstriped caution has already helped the Massachusetts Senator to haul in record levels of Democratic contributions, some from Republicans and independents. Still, for all its success in Manhattan, the Hamptons and Santa Barbara, this is not a strategy that resonates with swing voters in battleground states from Ohio to New Mexico.

The alternative—at once bolder and riskier, but with a larger potential electorate—involves targeting the ordinary Republicans who rejected at least one generation of Bushes to back Perot or McCain. These voters—not a few thousand elites but millions of the rank and file—are concentrated in the middle-class precincts of swing states like Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Colorado and the Pacific Coast.

Even by the campaign's own polls, it is precisely the Perot-McCain states that Kerry most needs to win. For Democratic and left-tilting progressives, the second benefit is luring voters drawn to the outsider economics of Perot and McCain, not to the insider calculations of big donors and fundraisers like former Clinton Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. It is the Perot-McCain constituency, more than the elite Democratic entente, that could best catalyze a bipartisan progressive coalition. A partial analogy, at least, can be made to the role that GOP progressives like George Norris, Hiram Johnson and Robert La Follette Jr. played during the 1930s in launching the New Deal. Convincing John McCain to run for Vice President in a Kerry fusion ticket would have been the strongest tactic, but Edwards is a persuasive alternative. Now for Kerry to repeat the boldness and refreshing candor would be an important further change of pace.

In addition to adopting a bolder style, national Democrats also need to grasp Bill Clinton's role during the 1990s in aborting some national trends and stirring others that did his party considerable harm. Indeed, Clinton's moral notoriety was central to the rise of George W. Bush at two junctures—Bush's initial election as governor of Texas in 1994, a year dominated (especially in Dixie) by an anti-Clinton backlash, and the presidential race of 2000, in which regional disgust with Clinton was so strong that even Tennessee Southern Baptist Al Gore could not carry Arkansas and Tennessee against the religion-linked Bush campaign for moral restoration.

Without these offsets to Clinton's lengthy prosperity, it seems clear that 1992 should have ushered in a twelve-to-sixteen-year Democratic mini-cycle. Indeed, the sixteen-point collapse in Bush Senior's vote between 1988 and 1992 was the sort of hemorrhage mostly seen on previous realignment occasions. Clinton's failure to take advantage of this opportunity, instead facilitating the Bushes' return in dynastic form, is one of the too-little-understood ingredients of the 2000 upheaval.

Part of the emptiness of the Democrats' pinstriped or don't-rock-the-boat strategy is that it doesn't grapple with these circumstances. Not just the South but the kindred pivotal border states and the Ohio Valley cannot be counted on to reward a Democrat trumpeting the Clinton memory and legacy. Nor does bland centrism effectively respond to the Bush family's regaining of the presidency in 2000 by tactics and subsequent inroads on small-d democracy and small-r republicanism to which only a feckless Democratic nominee could turn the other cheek.

---

*Kevin Phillips is the author, most recently, of* American Dynasty: Aristocracy, Fortune and the Politics of Deceit in the House of Bush *(Viking).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Button Initiative

# Stock up now... in time for the Republican Convention

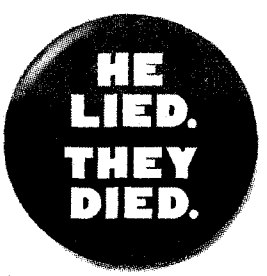
## New "Dubya" Buttons

*With every set of New "Dubya" Buttons get this free button.*

'W' STANDS FOR WRONG
'W' WRONG ON JOBS
'W' WRONG ON CIVIL LIBERTIES
'W' WRONG ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS
'W' WRONG ON THE WAR
'W' WRONG ON EDUCATION
www.thenation.com

## Old Favorites

*With every set of "Old Favorites" get this free button.*




Send me: _____ sets(s) of "Dubya" Buttons @ $10 per set, _____ set(s) of Old Favorites @ $10 per set.

TOTAL _____(Free Shipping • NYS Residents please add 8.625% sales tax)

☐ Check enclosed payable to *The Nation* or charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Amex

Name on Card (Print) _____ Card No. _____/_____ Exp. Signature _____

Ship to Name _____ Ship to Address _____ Apt. _____

City/State/ZIP _____ Phone or E-mail (*important, if questions about order*) _____

Please send check or cash to: The Nation Mart, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003 or call (212) 209-5400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

However, let it pass for the moment that Bush was put in office only by a 5-to-4 decision of the Supreme Court, hijacked the Democrats' mini-cycle, fought and botched the first father-and-son war in US annals and convinced 55–60 percent of Americans that the nation is on the wrong course. There is a more stark yardstick that even cautious Democrats should understand: In 1991–92, George H.W. Bush, prior to his defeat, fell from a record high job-approval rating of 90 percent after the Gulf War to a low 30s summer bottom before the election. His son, who hit the low 90s right after 9/11, by early June had fallen to 42–43 percent, another fifty-point decline. No elected President has ever done this; the Bushes have done it twice. Maybe it's the gene pool.

Back in 1992, Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot went after Bush with the gloves off, softening him up so that the Democratic nominee Clinton didn't have to do that much. In 2000 Al Gore didn't run a strong campaign—his occasional populism was as labored as fellow Harvard man Dukakis's in 1988—but some Republicans and independents had taken their cues from McCain. This year, by contrast, Bush had no primary challenge and will have no ex-Republican third-party opponent. Sure, some Republicans have attacked Bush through books, but while that's probably been worth a point or two, it's not the same thing.

To win this election decisively, John Kerry is going to have to feel the same outrage that Howard Dean felt, and he's going to have to express some of it with the same merciless candor that the Republican dissidents have employed against two generations of Bushes. In today's circumstances of a nation on the wrong track, most swing voters—especially wavering GOP men who grew up on John Wayne movies—will not be content with pablum. The Edwards selection seemed assertive, but if Kerry reverts to equivocation, he could face the ultimate epitaph on a political tombstone: Here lies John Kerry, the first Democratic nominee to lose to a Bush President who'd already dropped fifty points in job approval and earned the snickers of half the world. ■

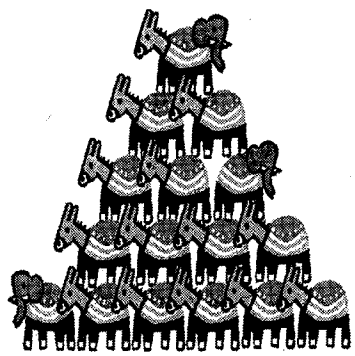
IN KERRY'S MASSACHUSETTS, ESTABLISHED POWER MEETS THE REFORM IMPULSE.

# The Liberal State

**CHARLES P. PIERCE**

*Boston*

Well, it's nice to be back, I must say, we liberals of the Commonwealth (God save it!). Nice of you all to have us back, too, since your last experience with one of us as a Democratic presidential candidate didn't work out that well. You'll be happy to know that Mike Dukakis is still doing fine, and staying out of armored vehicles whenever possible, and that Susan Estrich, the mastermind behind the 1988 Dukakis juggernaut, is comfortably ensconced in her new career as a wind-up Liberal in the Fox News Channel playroom—although, to those of us who are liberals here, watching Susan Estrich on television giving advice on how to run a national political campaign is rather akin to taking a course in navigation from Exxon Valdez Capt. Joe Hazelwood. Anyway, it's nice to be back, as I've said, and I'm glad that nobody holds a grudge too long.



PETER O. ZIERLEIN

I should explain, now that Senator John Kerry is the presumptive nominee, that the phrase "Massachusetts liberal" doesn't mean what it's said to mean in the feverish fundraising letters of the lunatic right. I should explain this particularly now, as gay people are marrying each other here in the Commonwealth (God save it!), a development that likely will cause Massachusetts to be portrayed as Gehenna's vestibule over the next several months. In mid-June, in fact, our Republican governor, Mitt Romney, went before a Senate committee and made pretty much that case against the state over which he at least nominally presides. Save us from ourselves, Mitt wailed plaintively, while back home, more than a few people wondered whether Governor Mitt was auditioning for the day when Dick Cheney decides it's time to spend more time with his family.

In any case, we're nothing of which to be all that afraid. Dukakis didn't lose primarily because he was a liberal. He lost because he was the 1962 Marv Throneberry of presidential candidates running the 1962 New York Mets of presidential campaigns. He lost because he wasn't politician enough to keep that liberalism from being hopelessly caricatured even by as hopelessly maladroit a public presence as George H.W. Bush. He lost because he couldn't even define his own public career. He lost because he couldn't even define the political culture in which that career was formed. Give John Kerry this. He's maddeningly allusive, and he constructs his positions the way that Great Auntie Cabot built her beach house on Nantucket—rambling, with a porch just where you think a bay window should go—but he's sure about who he is and where he came from (even if, occasionally, he seems like the only one who is).

Massachusetts politics never has been about conservatives and liberals. The same people who listened religiously (you should pardon the pun) to the radio ravings of Father Charles Coughlin, and the same people who cheered on Joseph McCarthy, still voted in stunning ensemble for the local Democratic Party. Even though the state's last four governors have been Republicans, the GOP hasn't been able to elect anyone to much of anything else, and the Democratic Party still holds a three-to-one advantage in registered voters. And all four of those governors—William Weld, Paul

*Charles P. Pierce is a staff writer for the* Boston Globe *magazine, a contributing writer to* Esquire *and the author of two books. He lives near Boston.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

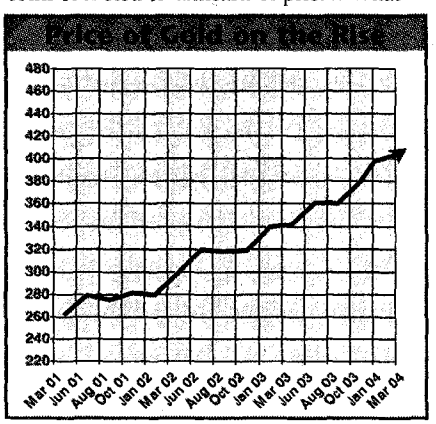
# Chinese Government Ignites World's Biggest Gold Rush

## Gold Coin Ownership Legalized for First Time In over 50 Years—Surge In Worldwide Gold Demand Creates Shortage

*Shown larger than actual size of 18 mm*

**SHANGHAI, China, Tuesday 8:55 AM** — What happens when 1.2 *billion* people suddenly have the opportunity to own gold after more than half a century? And what if their country has been minting one of the world's most popular gold coins for years, but they've never had the chance to own it? This is the amazing story unfolding this moment in China, where the government is legalizing gold coin ownership for its citizens, the world's largest population.

Take a look back at what happened in the United States in 1975, when the U.S. government made it legal for Americans to again own gold. An entirely new market exploded overnight. In a few years gold prices shot up to over $800 an ounce and old U.S. gold coins rocketed to unheard-of prices! What will happen to the market when the Chinese, with 25% of the entire world's population, can finally own their beloved gold coins for the first time ever?




### Banned Gold Pandas are the Key

China has issued its own gold coin, the Panda, since 1982. With its popular theme, higher purity than U.S. coins (.999 pure gold) and limited mintage, the solid gold Panda has become one of the world's most coveted bullion coins, trading at a premium above all others. The "catch" is, virtually everybody in the world has been able to own them *except for the Chinese people themselves!* But now that the Chinese can buy their own gold Panda coins, the demand of 1.2 billion people is already starting to overwhelm the supply of 2004 Pandas.

Make no mistake, there is a huge pent-up demand for Panda coins in China. Several years ago, China sanctioned its first coin collector show. Chinese citizens had the opportunity to buy a simple brass Panda coin. Demand was so fierce that lines of eager buyers stretched out the doors and around the block. When it comes to gold, the Chinese are even more fanatical. When the Shanghai Gold Exchange recently opened for business, Chinese citizens bought 1.2 TONS of gold bars in just *one month!*

### Chinese Bureaucracy Miscalculates

For years the total mintage of China's 50 Yuan gold Panda has been limited to just 25,000 ounces for the entire world. But it is astounding to see that the China Mint has once again set the same edition limit for the new 2004 gold Panda — even though the Chinese people now have their first chance ever to buy them! It's a mystery as to why the Chinese bureaucracy could miscalculate so badly as to not take into account the demand from its own 1.2 billion people.

### Order Your Gold Pandas Before They Disappear Back to China

The 2004 Gold Panda has a glittering mirror finish with frosted image of a mother Panda with her baby and will be minted this year only. The 50 Yuan coin is legal tender and struck in 3.11 grams of pure .999 gold. It will be delivered to you sealed in a clear protective holder and accompanied by a Certificate of Authenticity. While our supply lasts, your cost is just $89 plus S/H. **Note: Due to rapid changes in the price of gold bullion and the worldwide demand for gold Pandas this price cannot be guaranteed. Call for current price. Due to limited mintage this coin is subject to sell-out.**

### Satisfaction Guarantee

You must be 100% satisfied with your order, or simply return it within 30 days by insured mail for a prompt refund of the purchase price. Our firm has been the exclusive worldwide distributor for several gold and silver coins from China, Britain and South Africa. Since 1985, tens of thousands of satisfied customers have acquired over $290 million in precious metal coins from First Federal and its parent company.

**2004 50 Yuan Gold Panda $89** +S&H

**5 Gold Pandas for $85 Each** +S&H
**SAVE $37.50**

**10 Gold Pandas for $82 Each** +S&H
**SAVE $126.00**

Toll-Free 24 hours a day
**1-800-859-1642**
Promotional Code YGP111-01
*Please mention Promotional Code when you call.*

We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

**First Federal Mint**

**14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. YGP111-01, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337**

*Note: The First Federal Mint, LLC is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government.*




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cellucci, Jane Swift and Romney—were notably silent on the hot-button social issues, until the state's Supreme Judicial Court forced Romney's hand on gay marriage last fall. The tide of "Movement conservatism" elsewhere in America rolled back at the Massachusetts border.

Massachusetts politics always has been about established power and the reform impulse, and, since the beginning of the last century, that struggle has taken place within a liberal Democratic context. That is the tradition that produced John Kerry, and it's not a bad tradition to come from when you're running against an Administration that seems to stand for power, and for its exercise, and for very little else.

Many years ago, almost everybody in Massachusetts was a liberal, even the Republicans, although the Republicans didn't know they were liberals at the time. The successive waves of immigration—most particularly, the nineteenth-century flood tide from Ireland—set up a dynamic that locked Massachusetts Republicans forever into the position of established power based on inherited privilege and high-end Protestantism. Considering that these people were the historical heirs of the radical abolitionists of the mid-1800s, when the movement against slavery began in Episcopalian, Congregationalist and (especially) Unitarian pulpits, it was quite odd for the children and grandchildren of the firebrands to find themselves cast as the defenders of an entrenched elite. However, the immigrant Massachusetts Democrats managed the not-inconsiderable feat of casting themselves as "reformers" while simultaneously perfecting virtually the entire gamut of modern American political corruption. Specifically, the very real discrimination that these immigrants felt from the Massachusetts establishment, and from the nativist mobs working at its tacit behest, created a political culture in which ethnic nepotism was transformed into self-defense and, thus, into a durable language of revolutionary reform.

*The Bush campaign may find itself running against a real Massachusetts liberal, an heir to Lomasney as well as Kennedy and Dukakis.*

The basic appeal of the legendary Boston political bosses—from James Michael Curley, to John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, to Martin "The Mahatma" Lomasney, who once explained, "Never write when you can speak. Never speak when you can nod"—was deeper than simply "Where's Mine?" There was more than a little bit of sticking-it-to-The-Man about it as well. This was echoed by the lesser satellites throughout the Commonwealth. In Worcester, my birthplace, a city with proud progressive Republican roots in both abolitionism and in the various movements for women's rights, the citizens once elected a mayor named John C. Mahoney, who campaigned on the slogan "Me hands are tied. Me back is to the wall. And the Protestants are after me." The constituent-service liberalism born when the immigrants came to power was, at its heart, extraordinarily reactionary.

While the term "Reagan Democrat" is easy shorthand, Massachusetts Democrats were cultural conservatives long before that, at least in part because the state lay under the baleful glare of a Roman Catholic hierarchy only a couple of baby steps removed from the Council of Trent. In 1940, Honey Fitz's reprobate son-in-law, Joseph P. Kennedy Sr., ended up opposing Franklin D. Roosevelt on the not-insignificant issue of what was going on in Germany, and he later sent one of his younger sons to work for his good friend Joe McCarthy. The anti-Semitic broadcasts of Father Coughlin found a wide audience in Boston, as Nat Hentoff recalls in his memoir *Boston Boy*. Members of the old immigrant liberal population were already Democrats with Reaganite instincts back before the release of *Knute Rockne—All American*, when Ronald Reagan expired under the tearful gaze of Pat O'Brien.

Gradually, of course, the children and grandchildren of these immigrants became the entrenched political power themselves, although Curley used the old WASP-baiting techniques long past the time when he'd become a successful politician. In Massachusetts, at least, Jack Kennedy was a transitional figure—Honey Fitz's grandson, for sure, but also the New Frontiersman. In him, the old immigrant reformers found common cause with the ambitious younger ones. That couldn't last forever. JFK got murdered, and when the issues that were gathering steam during his presidency—civil rights and Vietnam—finally exploded, they shattered the calcified structures of what had been Massachusetts liberalism.

"It was the war," recalls Barney Frank. "It really began in 1969, when Mike Harrington got elected to Congress. Then, in 1970, you had [Gerry] Studds on the Cape, and Father [Robert] Drinan." This new generation of liberals ran against the old one almost exclusively, the Massachusetts Republican Party being at that point largely a country-club veranda of the mind. Dukakis was elected governor twice and eventually ran for President. Frank himself was elected to Congress in 1980, where he joined the late Paul Tsongas, who'd ascended to the Senate two years earlier and who eventually would establish himself as the early place-horse behind Bill Clinton for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992. Senator Edward Kennedy remained beyond category, as he always had been in Massachusetts, long since immunized against most political changes, regardless of their intensity. However, it was this redefinition of "Massachusetts liberals" that helped turn Tip O'Neill against the Vietnam War, and it also helped turn a lunch-bucket congressman like the late Joseph Moakley into a crusader against the various bloody Reagan-era fabulisms in Central America.

"Joe Moakley was an old-line New Deal liberal in that he believed that government should have a conscience, and that it should protect those who are vulnerable," explains Representative James McGovern, who was a longtime Moakley aide before being elected to Congress himself. "His views never altered, although the language had to change a little bit as the new questions popped up. So when he discovered that the US government was supporting people who went out and blew away six priests in the middle of the night, it offended everything that he'd always valued."

This movement was already well under way when Kerry moved to Massachusetts in 1970. Even though he lost his first race for Congress, he quickly became part of it when he chose to take a job with the Middlesex County District Attorney's office, in which he married liberal outrage to prosecutorial zeal. "We were conscious of being products of this period of time," Kerry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said shortly before clinching the nomination. "Like we were the Class of '74. It was a reaction because people felt burned, and that accounted for a lot of our passion about openness and inclusivity and empowerment."

Kerry carried this passion to his work in the Senate in the 1980s, when he drove many of the investigations into a secret foreign policy manifested most conspicuously in the Iran/*contra* scandal. The hearings that Kerry conducted were pure reformist Massachusetts liberalism. If the stakes hadn't been so high, and the activities in question so bloody, Kerry might well have been chasing down a cabal of crooked building inspectors, or a state representative's idiot nephew and his no-show job.

Now, Kerry has a chance to prosecute corruption on an even grander stage: insider graft (Hello, Halliburton!), nepotism (What's up, Mike Powell? Eugene Scalia?), the perils of secret government (Yo, Wolfie?) and the unbridled use of largely unbridled power (Sing it for us, Reverend Ashcroft!). All it will take is an invigorated national movement of what the old Massachusetts pols used to deride as "the goo-goos," which meant good-government types bent on eliminating the grease that had made the old guys rich. They mocked the goo-goos until the goo-goos started sending the old guys off to the sneezer. What's important to remember is that both sides were Massachusetts liberals, sons and daughters of the Commonwealth (God save it!). Conservatives need not apply.

In June the Republicans trotted out Lieutenant Governor Kerry Healey to accuse John Kerry of shirking his senatorial duties. Healey was startlingly animatronic for a lieutenant governor—an extraordinarily vestigial political office even by the standards of the Commonwealth (God save it!), which also has a Governor's Council, which hasn't been relevant to anyone's life since John Hancock and the Adams boys packed Thomas Hutchinson off to Nova Scotia. Anyway, Her Excellency opined that Kerry should leave his Senate seat because he couldn't give the job its due because of the demands of the campaign trail. She essentially was accusing Kerry of having a no-show job, which was pure goo-goo, no matter how transparently insincere it was. The argument lasted about one news cycle before it degenerated into a brawl over how Kerry might be replaced, and by whom. There's the arc of contemporary Massachusetts liberalism: Everything that starts out as a good-government issue eventually devolves to the fundamental political question of "Where's Mine?"

It may not seem an improvement, but it's certainly superior to banging ourselves on the head over an issue like gay marriage, which seems to be the domain of Governor Romney. His Washington testimony didn't play all that well here at home, where the primary TV images of the "heated" debate have been angelic, happy children with balloons helping Dad and Dad, or Mom and Mom, tie the knot. As long as people throughout the Commonwealth (God save it!) don't start turning into pillars of salt, the issue may not be as useful in constructing an effective cartoon as the people in Karl Rove's workshop think it will be.

However, gay weddings may be all the Republicans have left with which to turn John Kerry into their concept of a Massachusetts liberal. Soft on national defense? A guy who found his way to the Mekong Delta when the incumbent was struggling to find Alabama? Soft on crime? A guy who was manifestly better as a

"Truly inspiring...must be heard far & wide today"
—Wil-Dog, Jiro, & Uli from OZOMATLI

AVAILABLE IN DVD or VHS
4 Disks 5 Tapes

REVOLUTION

WHY IT'S NECESSARY

WHY IT'S POSSIBLE

WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

A FILM OF A TALK BY

BOB AVAKIAN

Just like landmark art work or historically seminal music Bob Avakian's delivery and timing is truly inspiring. The only thing more inspiring is the vision and message he presents to us... a revolutionary leader whose voice must be heard far and wide today.
[Wil-Dog, Jiro and Uli from Ozomatli]

"This speech needs to be heard by others. It could take many more people onto the path toward world liberation."
[Yuri Kochiyama]

I highly recommend this talk... Bob Avakian hurls an impassioned, articulate challenge to capitalism and US imperialism.
[Carol Downer, Founder, Fed. of Feminist Women's Health Centers]

**In 2003 Chairman Bob Avakian delivered an historic talk in the United States, now available in video.** This talk is a wide-ranging revolutionary journey. It breaks down the very nature of the society we live in and how humanity has come to a time where a radically different society is possible. **Full of heart and soul, humor and seriousness, it will challenge you and set your heart and mind to flight.**

**BOB AVAKIAN** is a creative and wide-ranging thinker who, at the same time, maintains a profound sense of the actual struggles, trends and sentiments among the masses, the movements of opposition, and society broadly. And, he is the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which is seriously setting its sight on the seizure of power right within the U.S. itself, and the revolutionary transformation of society as part of the world proletarian revolution. He is one of those truly rare individuals who emerge as a concentrated expression of the very best of what the revolutionary people and their struggles can forge. **He will take you on a journey that can change your life.**

$34.95 + $4 shipping. Make checks or money orders to Three Q Productions.
Specify format: DVD (English/Spanish); VHS (English); or VHS (Spanish).
Send to: THREE Q, 2038 W. Chicago Ave, Suite 126N, Chicago, IL 60622.
Visit our website and order online: **threeQvideo.com/TN**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prosecutor than, say, Kenneth Starr? In its frustration, the Bush campaign may find itself running against a genuine Massachusetts liberal, an heir to Lomasney as well as to Kennedy and Dukakis.

"It's going to be tough for them to create what they think a 'Massachusetts liberal' is out of John Kerry," explains Barney Frank. "He's a guy who's actually shot Communists and, when he was a district attorney, he locked up murderers." And an heir to the oldest school, as well—that noisome bunch of bandit merchants who first moved against the arrogant stupidity that is the inevitable product, and the ultimate weakness, of unaccountable power. It's time to welcome those old enemies, again, to the real Commonwealth of Massachusetts, God save it. Bring it on, if you like, and we'll see what ends up in the harbor this time around. ■

# A People's Democratic Platform

*The Democratic Party platform to be presented at the upcoming convention has been tailored to suit the positions of the presidential nominee and to raise as few contentious issues as possible. That may be good strategy as defined by political pollsters and strategists, but to our mind it represents a missed opportunity to put forward and debate some fresh, possibly unconventional ideas. So we've asked a disparate group of people—ranging from retired newsman Walter Cronkite to hip-hop activist Bakari Kitwana—what plank each of them would like to propose. Their answers were by turns provocative, quirky and unexpected. We offer them in the hope that voters will be stirred to come up with their own "planks" and then try to turn them into reality.* —*The Editors*

## ★Howard Dean

*Howard Dean, a former governor of Vermont, is the founder and honorary chair of Democracy for America.*

The Democrats need to stand up for universal healthcare and get it passed. We are the last industrialized country in the world that doesn't have it. It's inexcusable. It will make a big difference not just for people who are struggling but also for the business community. The difference between the Republicans and the Democrats is the argument about how much collective responsibility we have for each other. The Republicans essentially don't believe we have any, and I think we do. Universal healthcare could be paid for by getting rid of the President's tax cuts, which have simply been a huge wealth transfer from poor and modest-income people to big corporations and the top 1 percent. Those tax cuts have done nothing but harm America by creating an enormous deficit. By eliminating them we can pay for health insurance for every American—that's how expensive they are.

## ★George McGovern

*George McGovern, a former US senator from South Dakota, was the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee.*

Since we were promised a peace dividend once the cold war ended, since no country is now threatening us and since the terrorist threat is not a military one, the present $400 billion military budget should be cut in half, to be achieved with 5 percent annual reductions over the next ten years.

## ★Walter Cronkite

*Walter Cronkite is a former CBS news anchor.*

The Democrats should pledge to restore the environment to the status of a major concern, putting a new Department of the Environment on a par with State and Defense. At its heart will be a blue-ribbon panel of distinguished scientists who will identify the most pressing environmental problems and prioritize the department's attacks upon them.

The Secretary of the Environment will be an individual with a national reputation as one long dedicated to the cause, fearless in condemning the special interests and their political lackeys. (The platform could promise that Ralph Nader would be offered the post, which would serve to deflate Nader's third-party campaign.)

The Department of the Environment will, during inaugural week, begin the complete reversal of most, if not all, of the outgoing Republican Administration's actions involving the environment, putting into effect stringent air and water regulations and eliminating favored treatment for polluters who are regarded as special interests. The Administration will recognize the Kyoto Protocol and become a leader in reversing global warming, including working to end the world's dependence on fossil fuels.

In addition, the Administration will protect our forests, marshes, lakes, rivers, coasts and wildlife from industrial and commercial development and oil exploration, while recognizing the value of every living thing placed in our care.

## ★Ellen Chesler

*Ellen Chesler, a senior fellow at the Open Society Institute, has an essay on women's rights in* What We Stand For: A Program for Progressive Patriotism, *edited by Mark Green.*

The platform should call for immediate US ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the UN's visionary global treaty for advancing women's rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. One hundred seventy-seven countries around the world have ratified CEDAW, leaving the United States among a handful of "rogue" states, including Sudan, Somalia and Iran, in failing to do so, because intransigent conservatives, opposing both international obligations and women's rights, have exercised a veto.

Adopted in 1979, CEDAW acknowledges the importance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

women's traditional obligations as mothers responsible for the raising of children and the preservation of families, but it also establishes new norms. It catalogues a broad range of rights for women in marriage, including property, inheritance and access to healthcare, with an explicit mention of family planning, though not of abortion. It demands equality for women as citizens with full access to suffrage, political representation and other legal benefits, including the right to education free of gender stereotypes and segregation. It establishes their rights as workers deserving equal remuneration and protection from sexual harassment and workplace discrimination.

In a number of countries, ironically now including Afghanistan and Iraq, treaty provisions have been incorporated into democratic constitutions. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg recently cited CEDAW as an argument for increasing our own government's obligation to promote women's full work-force participation and to protect parenting through paid family leave and subsidized childcare.

We owe CEDAW to ourselves and to women around the world.

## ★Margaret Cho

*Margaret Cho is a comedian.*

Upholding and expanding the ideology of democracy is a mission far more worthy of our devotion than serving the theology of prejudice. The Democratic platform should state that we believe that a democratic nation does not seek to unite church and state. Our court system must not be the battleground for a holy war. Our current system has led to unbalanced treatment of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered individuals. It has also proved unfair to women, leaving out choice in the matter of reproductive rights. When we base our laws on tolerance, not contrition, repentance or faith, we work to achieve a higher ground.

## ★George Lakoff

*George Lakoff is the author of* Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think.

At a time when terrorist threats come from groups of individuals rather than states, when wars occur within nations, when "free markets" exist without freedom, when overpopulation threatens stability, when intolerant cultures limit freedom and promote violence, when transnational corporations act like oppressive governments and when the oil economy threatens the planet's future, the central problems in today's world cannot be solved by state-level approaches.

Part of the answer is to recognize interdependence and focus foreign policy on diplomacy, alliances, international institutions and strong defensive and peacekeeping forces, with war as a last resort.

But what is needed even more is a new kind of moral foreign policy, one that realizes that America can only be a better America if the world is a better world. America must become a moral leader using fundamental human values—caring and responsibility carried out with strength—to respond to the world's problems.

In a values-based foreign policy, issues that were not previously seen as part of foreign policy become central. Women's education is the best way to alleviate overpopulation and promote development. Renewable energy could make the world oil-independent. Food, water, health, ecology and corporate reform are foreign policy issues, as are rights—rights of women, children, workers, prisoners, refugees and political minorities.

Moral values not only define world problems but direct us to their root causes.

## ★Bakari Kitwana

*Bakari Kitwana is the author of* The Hip-Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African-American Culture *and co-founder of the National Hip-Hop Political Convention.*

The Democratic Party should call for an end to draconian mandatory minimum sentencing for those convicted of nonviolent drug crimes, and establish a reasonable and fair sentencing system that doesn't rob citizens of decades of their lives.

The war on drugs has failed to end illegal drug sales or consumption, while mandatory sentencing has played a primary role in the rise of US incarceration in the past thirty years, from 330,000 to more than 2 million—nearly one-fourth of whom are drug offenders.

Paramilitary policing as part of the war on drugs is concentrated in poor communities and results in high arrest rates, racial profiling and police brutality, as well as the devastation of thousands of families and neighborhoods.

Mandatory minimums disproportionately affect African-Americans and other people of color (African-Americans represent 45 percent of the US prison population). They are also unfair: A five-year mandatory minimum exists for possession of more than five grams of crack cocaine, whereas possession of the same amount of powder cocaine remains a misdemeanor, with mandatory minimums of fifteen days for the second offense.

The Democratic Party should advocate the repeal of mandatory-minimum sentencing laws at the state level as well as those provisions under the federal 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act, the 1984 Sentencing Reform Act, the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act, the 1988 Anti-Drug Abuse Act and the 1994 Crime Act.

## ★John Brademas

*John Brademas, president emeritus of New York University, was for twenty-two years (1959–81) a Democratic Representative from Indiana in Congress, where he helped write all the measures enacted to support schools, colleges and universities; the arts and the humanities; libraries and museums; and to provide services for children, the elderly and the disabled.*

"Education," said President John F. Kennedy, "is the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress." Adequate investment in education is indispensable to our national security, the conduct of our foreign policy, our economic strength and the quality of our individual lives. A Democratic President and Congress will take the following actions:

§ Finance the No Child Left Behind Act at authorized levels, while providing states both the funds and administrative clarity necessary to implement the statute effectively.

§ Create universal preschool programs, particularly for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children from low-income families.

§ Double the amount of the Pell Grant for college students from low and middle-income families.

§ Provide funds for research in how to improve teaching and learning.

§ Increase funds for study of foreign languages and of countries and cultures other than our own, including funds for international exchanges.

§ Increase funds for the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities and the Institute of Museum and Library Services.

§ Provide funds and incentives (for example, loan-forgiveness programs) for educating, mentoring and retaining qualified preschool, elementary and secondary schoolteachers, especially in high-need areas.

§ Revive and expand investment in research in science and technology, with particular attention to national security, health and economic innovation.

§ Finance the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act at authorized levels.

## ★Arthur Miller

*Arthur Miller's new play,* Finishing the Picture, *will open this fall at Chicago's Goodman Theater.*

Clearly the absence of a national healthcare system needs to be brought to the fore. Maybe the national pride can be touched if people are made aware that Americans do *not* enjoy the world's best medicine but are among the worst served of all the major nations. And that this miserable record applies not just to the poor but to the middle class as a whole.

## ★John Sayles

*John Sayles is the author of two forthcoming books,* Silver City and Other Screenplays *and* Dillinger in Hollywood.

The Democratic platform should call for an end to the hypocrisy of our immigration policy. Our current policy, an enormously expensive cat-and-mouse game, most notably on our southern border, calls on the INS to enforce immigration laws that are openly expected to be ignored by countless US industries and private employers. Some sort of regulated guest-worker program is needed.

Once it is in place, if immigrants continue to enter the country illegally and can't find work, word will filter back and the numbers will decrease dramatically. While in our country, however, those guest workers need to be protected from exploitation—to be assured they will be paid for their work, that their working conditions will meet state and federal safety standards and that they will receive no less than the federally mandated minimum wage (which needs to be raised).

Employers would be required to withhold some percentage (perhaps the equivalent of federal taxes and Social Security) from wages to help defray the costs of the program. Penalties for hiring foreign workers outside of the program would be high enough (and sufficiently enforced) to end the black market in labor that is thriving now.

Protecting all workers in this country is an important first step toward the amendment or abolition of NAFTA and the protection of workers throughout the world.

## ★Chuck Close

*Chuck Close is an artist.*

I would like some sort of renewed commitment to free expression, free speech and personal freedom that acknowledges the fact that what has made our system better than most others is our ability, as individuals, to tolerate ideas other than our own. This entails a willingness to be offended, to hear things you don't want to hear, to see things you don't want to see. The greater good of our free and open society is worth the risk of being offended or even outraged.

What is happening today is the wholesale abandonment of the protections of free expression and free speech. It makes you wonder what we're fighting for in the "War against Terror." Ultimately, are we going to have to be like "them" to defeat "them"? What do we have when we're done—if we can put someone in prison with no right to trial and with no proof, while we abuse prisoners? This has had a chilling effect on speech—in fact, you don't even have to speak; all you have to do is look like the "enemy," and that's enough.

I'm very worried about how easily the public has tolerated this and how readily we've given up these protections and our freedoms.

## ★Andrew Jay Schwartzman

*Andrew Jay Schwartzman is president and CEO of the Media Access Project.*

Congress, the courts and the American public have resoundingly repudiated the Bush media deregulation policies. The Democratic Party should acknowledge the growth of this grassroots rebellion, starting with a pledge that upon taking office, President Kerry will obtain prompt confirmation of a Democratic FCC chair.

The party should also pledge to repeal the 1996 law allowing unlimited radio-station ownership, establish stronger limits on broadcast ownership, extend the prohibition on newspapers owning local TV stations to cable companies and implement an existing but unenforced law capping national cable ownership.

To assure that the public benefits from its ownership of the airwaves, the party should pledge to restore the fairness doctrine; make "issue" ad sponsors more accountable; require licensees to carry news and public affairs programming, provide free airtime to candidates and promote music-format diversity by ending payola loopholes and concert-promoter tie-ins; expand federal funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and protect it more strongly from political intrusion; reject schemes to convert spectrum into private property; adopt the "Berlin Plan," which accelerates transition to high-definition TV by using revenues from "old" TV spectrum to provide consumers with digital tuners.

Additionally, it should encourage localism by supporting bipartisan legislation that authorizes up to three times more low-power community FM stations and protect the future of civic discourse by guaranteeing all citizens a choice of Internet provider and access to all content.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## ★Doris "Granny D" Haddock

*Doris Haddock, 94, who walked across America to promote campaign finance reform, is a Democratic candidate for the US Senate in New Hampshire.*

One key election reform is adoption of instant-runoff voting. A way to prevent potential serious splits in the political left, IRV allows each voter to rank his or her choices. If the first choice does not gain a majority, the next-ranked choice then applies. That way, everyone can vote their heart without spoiling their vote, and third parties can rise in influence.

A second key reform is public funding of elections. We need to get special interest money out of our elections, and we must take a strong position to promote and defend the Clean Elections system of full public financing now used in Maine and Arizona. We must particularly urge Arizona Democrats to vote No on the Clean Elections repeal put on Arizona's November ballot by right-wing business groups.

A third is a return to paper ballots, owing to a lack of public trust in computerized voting; we must return to such ballots, counted at the precinct with citizens watching.

## ★Jamin Raskin

*Jamin Raskin, a professor of constitutional law at American University's Washington College of Law and a Kerry delegate to the Democratic convention, is the author of* Overruling Democracy.

The Democratic Party should be the *democracy* party. Our platform should begin with a call for a constitutional amendment guaranteeing every American citizen the right to vote, to have the vote counted, to have the popular vote decide the election and to be represented in government.

In *Bush v. Gore*, the Supreme Court declared that "the individual citizen has no federal constitutional right to vote for electors for the President of the United States," and that even when a state allows its residents to vote for President, state legislators can always "take back the power to appoint electors."

Moreover, we have more than 8 million disenfranchised and unrepresented citizens. In Washington, DC, 570,898 people have no voting representation in the Senate or House of Representatives, while 4,230,727 US citizens in the territories—Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa and the Virgin Islands—have no voting representation in Congress and no vote in presidential elections. Nearly 5 million citizens have been disenfranchised because of a criminal conviction.

And with more than 11,000 electoral jurisdictions designing their own ballots and voting systems, all of our votes are in danger.

## ★Nell Minow

*Nell Minow, editor of The Corporate Library, an independent research firm, is the author, most recently, with Robert Monks, of* Corporate Governance.

Genuine corporate democracy will restore crucial checks and balances to our system of corporate governance. To achieve this end, the Democratic Party should endorse a meaningful proxy access rule—such as one that's being considered by the SEC but that is being fought by the business community.

As things stand now, incumbent directors of corporate boards select board candidates, and more than 99 percent of the time no one runs against them. The incumbents often know how the voters mark their ballots, and they don't hesitate to apply pressure on voters to change their mind if they don't like what they see. Oh, and the incumbents count the votes.

So it's no wonder—even though most directors are capable and honest—that they do such a bad job. Many of the post-Enron corporate reforms put a great deal of weight on "independent" directors, meaning no ties to the company. But the fact is that as long as the directors are nominated and elected through this self-perpetuating closed-loop process they will always be beholden to the CEO, and that will always make it difficult for them to provide the kind of oversight necessary to stop excessive pay, misleading financial reporting and other abuses.

## ★Lani Guinier

*Lani Guinier is Bennett Boskey Professor, Harvard Law School. She is co-author, with Gerald Torres, of* The Miner's Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy.

Never has it been clearer that Democrats must promote a national conversation about what it means to be a multiracial democracy. Republicans' right-wing turn, Democrats' ongoing tendency to take their base for granted and the sharp decline in competitive Congressional districts create an urgent need to rebuild democracy at home. The United States maintains a whole host of antidemocratic practices, from disenfranchising nearly 5 million citizens because of felony convictions to voter registration procedures that leave a third of adults unregistered. But winner-take-all elections play a particular role in the steady decline in voter participation among core Democratic constituencies, underrepresentation of women and people of color and the general failure of politics to mobilize, inform and inspire.

Anti-Bush forces have raised tens of millions to mobilize voters—but only for competitive states. People of color are poised for a historically high vote against the President—but mostly where a white conservative majority will trump their votes. With a battle for the House occurring in a couple dozen white-majority, mostly suburban districts, the Congressional Black Caucus is largely a spectator in any effort to gain real Congressional clout. Voter turnout rates once again will be wildly unequal between low-income and high-income voters. It will be a struggle for women to win even 15 percent of House seats. Third-party options will remain constricted because of "spoiler" dynamics.

A real democracy cannot look this way—certainly not a multiracial one. Nearly all significant democracies have adopted systems of proportional representation or debate it seriously—even Iraq and Afghanistan have rejected winner-take-all. In South Africa, for example, voters cast their ballots for the political party they feel most represents their interests, and the party gets seats in the legislature in proportion to their number of votes. Each vote counts to enhance the political power of the party of the voters' choice.

Because voters in South Africa essentially "district" themselves by how they mark their ballots, proportional representation eliminates the problem of political gerrymandering—in a much more sweeping, empowering way than so-called neutral districting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commissions or other modest reforms to control the power of incumbents to cherry-pick their voters. Proportional representation creates new incentives for local multiparty organizing to generate citizen engagement and meaningful participation, not merely on Election Day but between elections. Coalitions that start with narrowly focused issues can grow and use their aggregated power again and again at the intersection of race, class and geography—getting organized labor to join fights that help Latino immigrants and poor urban blacks to partner with rural whites who are also living in isolated pockets of distress, and so forth. These coalitions can aspire to an electoral strategy while nurturing leaders and innovative ideas to help us think creatively and act collectively.

Nothing in the Constitution says that we have to use winner-take-all, single-member districts. Indeed, Black Caucus members like Jim Clyburn and Mel Watt have repeatedly introduced legislation allowing states to choose proportional representation. It's a goal that should have great appeal not just for African-Americans but also for every group that has ever felt disenfranchised—and today that covers most of us.

## ★Studs Terkel

*Studs Terkel is the author, most recently, of* Hope Dies Last.

Necrophilia should be the subtext of all the issues discussed at the forthcoming Democratic convention. Are we a life-affirming society or one that perversely courts death? We are the only industrialized country that does not have national health insurance (my small bottle of prescription tablets and my tube of nasal spray set me back $114.35), as well as the only such nation that insists on the death penalty.

Of course, the matters of our loony Iraq maladventure, environmental rape, outsourcing and mass firings, the USA Patriot Act and the Enronism of Dubya's buddy boys should be brought forth. However, what must be made most clear is the overarching assault upon our native intelligence and our innate sense of decency, all adding up to an unprecedented menace to our general well-being.

Oh, one more thing: the perversion of the American language. The word "liberal" has assumed a dark meaning, thanks in no small part to the kept boys and girls of the mainstream media. I suggest that the chair of the gathering should immediately read to the delegates the dictionary definition of "liberal": (1) expressing social and political policies that favor progress and reform; (2) following policies that favor the freedom of individuals to act or express themselves in a manner of their own choosing—in short, a reaffirmation of FDR's New Deal.

The assemblage should impel the presumptive nominee for the presidency to abandon his mummyesque role and, instead of denying that he is a liberal, proudly affirm it.

## ★Sherrod Brown

*Sherrod Brown, a six-term Democratic Congressman from Ohio, is the author of* Myths of Free Trade, *to be published in August.*

Democrats must insist on labor rights and environmental standards in every trade agreement. If workers at the bottom cannot win the right to organize and bargain collectively for livable wages, safer workplaces and economic and political freedoms, then wages and living standards in rich and poor nations alike will continue to be pulled downward.

About half our imports now come from developing nations, most with repressive, autocratic governments. These governments are a magnet for US corporations seeking low wages, docile work forces and weak enforcement of environmental and labor standards. Only free trade unions with the legal power to bargain collectively can force multinational employers to share the wealth that the workers create for their companies. That is what labor unions did in the West. With the assistance of US trade negotiators, that is what they can do in the developing world.

When the world's poorest people can buy American products rather than just make them, then we will know that our trade policies are finally working.

## ★Eric Schlosser

*Eric Schlosser is the author of* Fast Food Nation *and* Reefer Madness.

The United States must declare an end to the war on drugs. This war has filled the nation's prisons with poor drug addicts and small-time drug dealers. It has created a multibillion-dollar black market, enriched organized-crime groups and promoted the corruption of government officials throughout the world. And it has not stemmed the widespread use of illegal drugs. By any rational measure, this war has been a total failure.

We must develop public policies on substance abuse that are guided not by moral righteousness or political expediency but by common sense. The United States should immediately decriminalize the cultivation and possession of small amounts of marijuana for personal use. Marijuana should no longer be classified as a Schedule I narcotic, and those who seek to use marijuana as medicine should no longer face criminal sanctions. We must shift our entire approach to drug abuse from the criminal justice system to the public health system. Congress should appoint an independent commission to study the harm-reduction policies that have been adopted in Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands. The commission should recommend policies for the United States based on one important criterion: what works.

In a nation where pharmaceutical companies advertise powerful antidepressants on public billboards and where alcohol companies run amusing beer ads during the Super Bowl, the idea of a "drug-free society" is absurd. Like the rest of American society, our drug policy would greatly benefit from less punishment and more compassion.

## ★James K. Galbraith

*James K. Galbraith is chair of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction, www.ecaar.org.*

Bush and Cheney inherited peace and prosperity—and squandered them. Today, war is part of our economic problem. War costs money and lives. It wastes resources, pushes up prices, depresses business investment. And it distracts public attention from pressing problems at home, most of all the need to create 5 million new jobs urgently and 5 million more within a few years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Now at the lowest price ever of $59.95!*

# A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room and pays for itself!

***The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with an energy savings of $51 over the life of one bulb!****

*Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.*

### *Use the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp...*

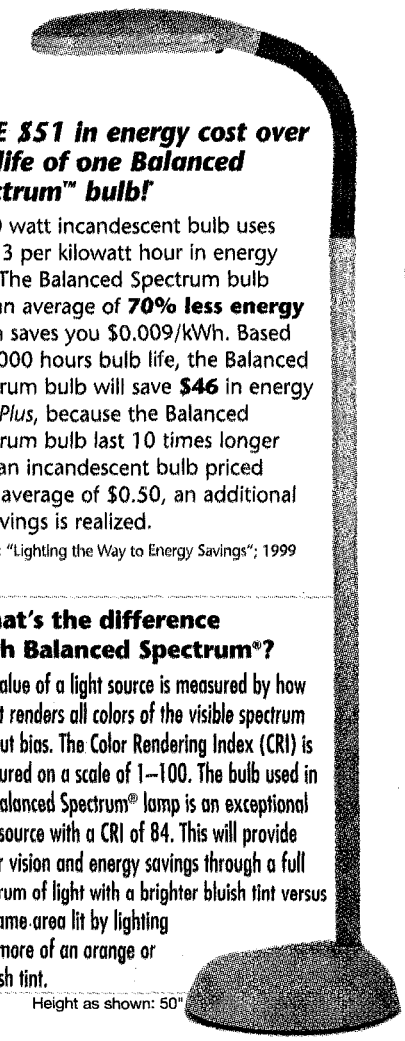
...for reading...

...at work...

...and when you need a source of natural light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.



Height as shown: 50"

### *SAVE $51 in energy cost over the life of one Balanced Spectrum™ bulb!**

A 150 watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per kilowatt hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009/kWh. Based on 5,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum bulb will save **$46** in energy cost. *Plus*, because the Balanced Spectrum bulb last 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

*Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

### What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum®?

The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the Balanced Spectrum® lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 84. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a full spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint versus the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.

**We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs.** This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

**Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at it's lowest price of less than $60!** Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to *every* room in your house at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Add sunshine to every room of your house at this new fantastic price!

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

### This light can change the way you live and work

*"As a commercial photographer, I probably give more attention to lighting than most people and therefore was impressed with the smooth, soft daylight quality of your lamp."*

Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

*"I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair... I don't get sore eyes like I used to."*

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Results may vary.

*Technology revolutionizes the light bulb*

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*

**Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp**
**Now at the *lowest* price ever of...**
Item# ZK-3589 . . . . . *only* **$59.95** + S&H

*Please mention promotional code 28278.*

**For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day**

**877-889-8324**

*To order by mail with check or money order, or by credit card, please call for total amount plus S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.*

*Virginia residents only—please add 4.5% sales tax.*

***www.firststreetonlinecom***

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
Formerly TechnoScout®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2004 *first*STREET, Inc.

38455

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democrats pledge to use the tools necessary to return to full employment, including public spending, revenue sharing, progressive taxation, low interest rates and global strategies that respect workers' rights, foster exports and regulate finance. Achieving this will require a new dedication to realistic, affordable, collective security. We must strengthen our alliances and the United Nations. We must cut useless programs such as missile defense. Most of all, we must seek to disengage from Iraq—an occupation for which no justification now exists.

As we do so, the challenge and opportunity of energy security must be faced. America must invest in conservation, renewable energy, hybrid vehicles and in a comprehensive reconstruction of our transport and housing patterns over time, to face the present instabilities of our energy supply and the eventual future of an oil-short world. We can build an America that is prosperous and secure, and we can create millions of new jobs and renew the middle class. Democrats place this great public-private project before the American people, and we promise action.

Our other great human challenge is to care decently for the rising tide of elderly Americans in the decades ahead. Democrats recognize that Social Security and Medicare are the great bulwarks against poverty for all older Americans. We pledge to protect, preserve and never to privatize those programs. Finally, we pledge to provide comprehensive health insurance and decent drug coverage to all Americans at long last.

## ★Gary Indiana

*Gary Indiana's most recent novel,* Do Everything in the Dark, *has just been issued in paperback. He lives in New York and Los Angeles.*

Ratify the Kyoto Protocol and withdraw from NAFTA and the WTO. Replace the World Bank and the IMF with a single Islamic structure that doesn't charge interest. Offer tax credits for the purchase of small, fuel-efficient automobiles. Cut taxes for individuals and couples who decide not to reproduce. Make abortions available and free at shopping malls, along with blood-pressure and glucose-tolerance tests.

Cut the military budget in half to fund healthcare, childcare, education and job training. Cut the remaining half by another half to rebuild urban infrastructures and expand public transportation. Cut the remaining half in half and give it to the families of civilian casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Restore full civil rights to convicted felons who have served their sentences in our gulags, the vast majority railroaded by the plea-bargaining process. Pay ex-convicts $100 an hour to meet their parole officers. Revise the grand jury system to allow defendants legal representation and the right to call their own witnesses. Simultaneously eliminate all plea bargaining so that every felony indictment results in a jury trial.

Restore the exclusive right of Congress to declare war, and declare any deployment of American troops "war," even if it's supposedly against abstractions like "drugs" or "terror." The only drug-related combat we need is a few years of intense forensic auditing of drug companies and punitive-damage awards to everyone they've overcharged. Make war profiteering and outsourcing of jobs federal crimes punishable by ten years of community service clearing litter from poor neighborhoods and seizure of corporate assets. Rescind the elements of the legal code that allow corporations to be considered "persons."

Make recreational drugs safer and available over the counter at pharmacies and liquor stores.

## ★Jeremy Bernstein

*Jeremy Bernstein, a professor of physics emeritus at the Stevens Institute of Technology and former member of the staff of* The New Yorker, *is the author, most recently, of* Oppenheimer: Portrait of an Enigma.

The wasteful and ineffective missile shield program, which began with a 1983 call by Ronald Reagan to erect such a shield over the United States, should be cut back to a modest research effort and the billions saved should be used for things that matter. The main effect of a shield program will be to encourage other nuclear powers to improve the offensive capabilities of their missiles—adding decoys and the like—which they could do at much less expense than we could construct a shield, which in any case could never offer any guarantees, since a realistic test is impossible. (A realistic test would be a nuclear war.) Nonetheless, the Republicans have never given up and in the Bush Administration have found a new champion.

At least the Reagan proposal addressed a situation where the terms of engagement made sense—two clearly opposed nuclear powers. In the present situation it makes no sense. The threat against us is terrorism. A perfect missile shield would have had no effect on September 11. Rogue states like North Korea understand that if it became clear they were real nuclear threats, they would be dealt with. Nonetheless, the Administration is spending $10 billion a year to deploy a system that even its proponents consider rudimentary. To construct a real missile shield, if this were possible, might cost a trillion. Meanwhile our ports, railways and urban transport infrastructures are vulnerable to terrorism, in part because of lack of funds.

## ★David Bonior

*David Bonior is the former House majority whip and chair, American Rights at Work.*

The right to organize and collectively bargain is a human right that US law claims to protect. But the law is broken, and Democrats should pledge to fix it. Each year, more than 20,000 workers are fired or discriminated against for participating in union organizing activity.

Without the labor movement, we wouldn't have such critical policies and programs as Social Security, overtime protections, family and medical leave, the eight-hour workday, minimum-wage increases and the weekend. Unions, as much as any entity in American life, created the middle class. The Democratic Party has and should continue to embrace the values that the labor movement has brought to the workplace, and to society in general.

It's not just labor's job to stand up for the rights of workers, but all of ours. By supporting workers who choose to organize and collectively bargain, Democrats can guarantee that the true protection of workers' rights is not a thing of the past but a foundation we can build upon for the future.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Recapture the glory that was Ancient Greece with this brilliant course...

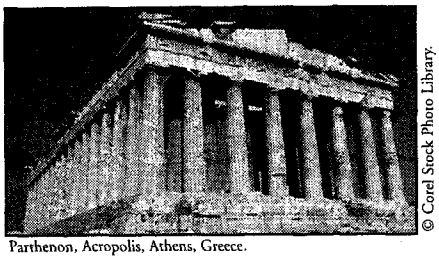
## *Ancient Greek Civilization* offers 24 information-packed lectures on one of the greatest cultures the world has ever seen

Blazoned above the portals of Apollo's temple at Delphi were the words, "Know thyself." For us, this means knowing the Greeks.

In a corner of the Mediterranean, emerging from the darkness of prehistory, the Greeks created a culture that still shapes us every day: democracy, philosophy, tragedy, poetry, history-writing, our aesthetic sensibilities and ideals of athletic competition, and more. *Who were these people?* The answers are fascinating, particularly with Professor Jeremy McInerney as your guide.

These recorded lectures cover the 11 centuries from the end of the Neolithic period to the conquests of Alexander the Great. Professor Jeremy McInerney traces the complex links between our civilization and its Hellenic origins. You can be confident that the insights you get from him are based on the newest and best in academic research and criticism. You'll come away enriched by new knowledge, not only of history, but of literature, art, philosophy, religion, and more.

You'll pay special attention to the era of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars and of classical Athens as unforgettably described by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Professor McInerney guides you through a rich trove of literary and archaeological evidence, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae; Aeschylus's *Oresteia;* and the traces left by the wealthy Greek colonies in Sicily.



© Corel Stock Photo Library.

Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece.

**Ancient Greek Civilization** lays bare the deepest historical roots of ideas upon which our world still depends. You'll see how and where they first arose, and you'll trace the course of their development in the ancient Hellenic world, a place at once highly familiar and acutely strange.

### A Great Teacher

Jeremy McInerney (Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley) is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where from 1994 to 1998 he held the Laura Jan Meyerson Term Chair in the Humanities. He also currently serves as chair of the University's Graduate Group in the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. He has firsthand archaeological experience at sites in Corinth, Crete, and Israel, and serves on the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece.

### An Intellectual Adventure

You can use The Great Courses to turn your commute, your exercise time, or your TV viewing into a captivating learning experience. And you can enjoy a lecture per day for no more than the price of a cup of coffee. Order today and take advantage of this great learning value.

### Lecture Titles

1. Greece and the Western World
2. Minoan Crete
3. Schliemann and Mycenae
4. The Long Twilight
5. The Age of Heroes
6. From Sicily to Syria—The Growth of Trade and Colonization
7. Delphi and Olympia
8. The Spartans
9. Revolution
10. Tyranny
11. The Origins of Democracy
12. Beyond Greece—The Persian Empire
13. The Persian Wars
14. The Athenian Empire
15. The Art of Democracy
16. Sacrifice and Greek Religion
17. Theater and the Competition of Art
18. Sex and Gender
19. The Peloponnesian War, Part I
20. The Peloponnesian War, Part II
21. Socrates on Trial
22. Slavery and Freedom
23. Athens in Decline?
24. Philip, Alexander, and Greece in Transition

THE TEACHING COMPANY®

*The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day*

GREAT TEACHERS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.

**SAVE UP TO $185!**
**OFFER GOOD UNTIL AUGUST 1, 2004**

### About The Teaching Company:

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

**1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)**
**Fax: 703-378-3819**

**Special offer is available online at**
**www.TEACH12.com/ntn**

The Great Courses™
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

**Priority Code 16973**

Please send me **Ancient Greek Civilization**, which consists of 24 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (reg. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $54.95** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (reg. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (reg. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQs page at our website for details.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

**Charge my credit card:**

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP. DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for intl orders)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/ntn

Offer Good Through: August 1, 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PETER O. ZIERLEIN

# Victory in 2004—and Beyond

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL AND ROBERT L. BOROSAGE

The prospect of hanging, Dr. Johnson said, concentrates the mind wonderfully. The threat posed by George W. Bush's right-wing reaction has organized the left for Kerry, just as Clinton galvanized the right for Bush.

As a referendum on Bush's failed agenda, Election 2004 can help toll the end of the conservative era that has defined our politics for the past quarter-century. For progressives, this election has revealed the growing power of their arguments and the sophistication of their activism. That energy, at the base of the Democratic Party, provides hope that victory in 2004 may mark the beginning of a movement that can transform American politics.

## 1. The Collapse of the Conservative Era

Bush is in trouble, and the reason is simple. With the right controlling both the White House and Congress, he has pushed through much of the right-wing agenda—and it has proved bankrupt once again.

Pre-emptive war and an arrogant unilateralism produced the debacle in Iraq, which has left America more isolated, more reviled and more vulnerable. Pre-emptive top-bracket tax cuts have run up record deficits as far as the eye can see, while generating the worst jobs record of any President since the Great Depression. Bush's policies have worsened our Gilded Age inequality, while working Americans find it harder to afford healthcare, college, retirement security or even to keep up with the rising cost of food and gas. Privatization and deregulation contributed to the worst corporate scandals since the 1920s, symbolized by the collapse of Enron, one of Bush's leading contributors in the 2000 race. Corporate looting reached new shamelessness in Iraq, led by Dick Cheney's Halliburton.

The Administration's assault on workers has helped to hike corporate profits to their highest portion of GDP since the 1920s. The rollback of environmental regulation has enhanced the threat of global warming, which even Pentagon planners now suggest is more destabilizing than terrorism. And the Bush White House has encouraged the religious right's jihad against family planning, reproductive rights, even evolution. In the midst of an AIDS pandemic, this Administration continues to enforce its gag order muzzling doctors from providing common-sense information that can save lives. In stem-cell research and elsewhere, it has crippled science to cater to the evangelical right. In its assault on affirmative action and judicial nominations, it practices a race-baiting politics of division, wholly at odds with the diversity that is America's strength.

## 2. The Democratic Contrast

Across the country, progressives are rightfully muttering about the uncertain trumpet represented by John Kerry. Since winning the nomination, Kerry has surrounded himself with former Clinton policy advisers, reaching out to the money wing of the party, represented by the Democratic Leadership Council. He's tempered the populist language on corporations and trade that helped him fend off the Howard Dean challenge. Kerry had to be pushed to open his Wonder Bread campaign staff to minorities. And he has seemed content to practice rope-a-dope politics, letting Bush self-destruct without offering a clear choice or challenge.

But as even Ralph Nader sometimes acknowledges, for all Kerry's temporizing and backsliding, Bush's extremist agenda insures that the differences between Bush/Cheney and Kerry/Edwards are stark—and for progressives, compelling. Though Kerry voted to give Bush the authority to make war in Iraq, and has failed to call for an end to the US occupation, he challenges the pre-emptive war doctrine of the Bush Administration and promises a foreign policy that will be tempered by alliances, international cooperation and the rule of law. He offers Americans an administration that surely would be more effective in isolating and pursuing terrorists abroad, more able to revive America's influence and enlist its allies, and more willing to address the broader threats to US security—from catastrophic climate change to the trade in loose nukes.

*Katrina vanden Heuvel is the editor of* The Nation. *Robert L. Borosage is co-director of the Campaign for America's Future. They are the co-editors of* Taking Back America *(Nation Books).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

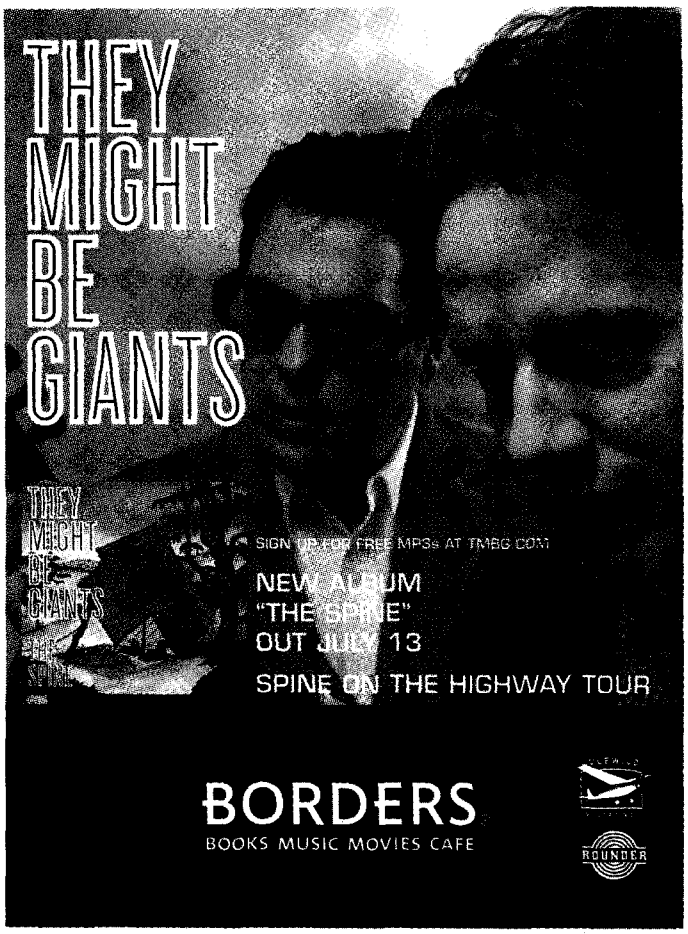
Kerry assails the Bush tax cuts, and vows to roll back the top-end cuts and close egregious corporate loopholes. Despite his embrace of former Treasury Secretary and Citigroup strategist Robert Rubin's finance economics, Kerry pledges to use that money to invest in healthcare, education and energy independence. He vows to bring the budget deficit under control but depends largely on growth to achieve that rather than deferring needed social investments. He supports holding corporations accountable and empowering labor. He has pledged to push for the Employee Free Choice Act, which would give workers the right to create unions when a majority of the workplace signs up. He favors expensing corporate stock options and cracking down on corporate corruption. He rails against offshore tax havens. And in choosing Edwards as his running mate, he has selected, as Nader noted, the candidate most ardently standing up for work rather than wealth, and holding corporations accountable to a greater good.

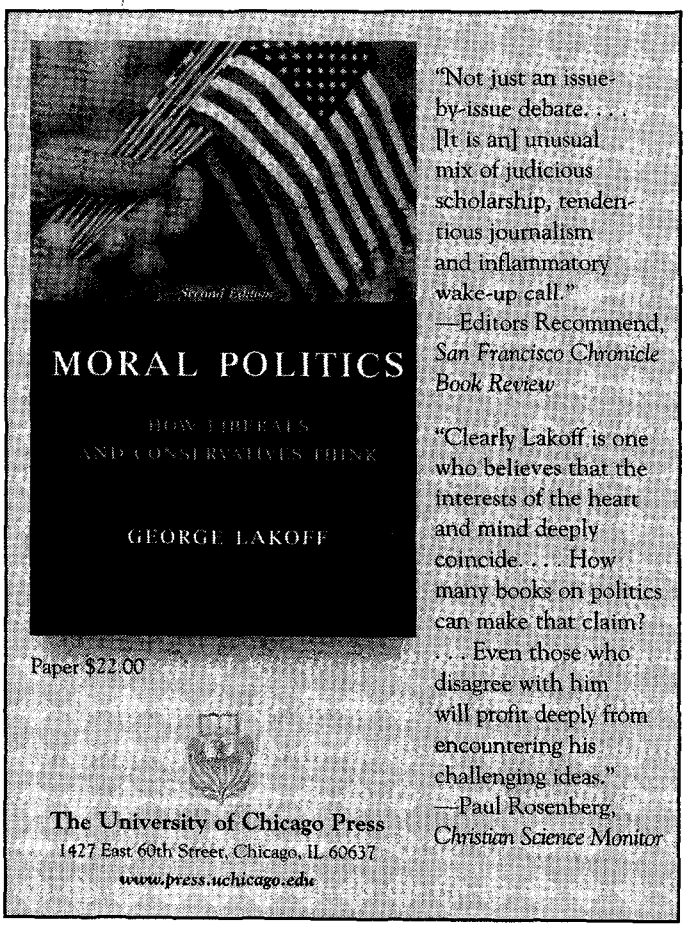
On social policy, Kerry is a lifelong liberal, defending the advances made by the civilizing movements of recent decades—on civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, the environment. On his watch, the courts won't be packed with zealots of the right-wing Federalist Society, intent on resuscitating states' rights and limiting the power of the government to protect citizens, consumers and the environment. A Kerry victory would mean a repudiation of the right. It would enable progressives to go from defense to offense. Instead of fending off a concerted assault on their very existence, unions would be able to push for federal measures that could revive the right to organize and strike. Women and civil rights leaders could mobilize to extend rights, not simply defend the ones they have. Without a solid Democratic majority in the House and Senate, Kerry and Congressional Democrats will have to force issues that expose how extreme the right-wing leadership is. The corporate looting of Iraq and the blatant corruption of the GOP Congress can be targeted for investigation. There will be stark limits to what Kerry can accomplish, but the difference between facing a constant assault organized out of the White House and having an administration with no choice but to be responsive to the progressive base will transform political possibilities.

## 3. Progressives Rising

As has historically been the case, progressives gave Democrats their voice in the run-up to the 2004 elections. The campaign started with the unprecedented mobilization against the war in Iraq in 2002–03. Millions rallied around the globe, opposing a war that had not even begun. Although the Bush Administration spurned them, the *New York Times* heralded the demonstrations as signaling the rise of a new power in the world—global public opinion. And in the midst of that mobilization, progressive organizations here like MoveOn.org were expanding exponentially, building an Internet base of more than 2 million citizens.

When the lies and staggering incompetence of the White House were revealed in the war's aftermath, the fury among progressives made itself heard. At a time when Beltway pollsters and pundits were warning Democratic presidential candidates that Bush was too popular to take on directly, MoveOn began publishing full-page ads censuring the President for misleading Americans. Howard Dean's meteoric rise came because he tapped into that anger, realizing that Democrats were looking for a candidate who





MORAL POLITICS
GEORGE LAKOFF
Paper $22.00
The University of Chicago Press
1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637
www.press.uchicago.edu
"Not just an issue-by-issue debate. . . . [It is an] unusual mix of judicious scholarship, tendentious journalism and inflammatory wake-up call."
—Editors Recommend, *San Francisco Chronicle Book Review*
"Clearly Lakoff is one who believes that the interests of the heart and mind deeply coincide. . . . How many books on politics can make that claim? . . . Even those who disagree with him will profit deeply from encountering his challenging ideas."
—Paul Rosenberg, *Christian Science Monitor*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would challenge Bush across the board. "There's a lot of recycling going on," Dean complained as other candidates began echoing his aggressive stances. Edwards gained momentum from a populist speech challenging the "two Americas" of wealth and work. Kerry railed against "Benedict Arnold" corporations and began indicting the White House for its extremism.

In the primaries, progressives provided the ideas that candidates had to embrace: the Apollo project for jobs and energy independence, the challenge to No Child Left Behind and demand for larger investment in education, opposition to the shameless giveaway to drug companies, affordable healthcare, indictment of Bush's war in Iraq, support for labor rights and environmental protections in trade accords, reaffirmation of the right to organize. Choice, affirmative action, environmental protection. These mainstream progressive positions defined the Democratic debate.

For decades, Democratic candidates have eschewed populist and anticorporate policies while they competed to raise money from Wall Street bankers and corporate fat cats. But in a potentially profound transformation of American politics, Dean and MoveOn broke the money primary, proving it was possible to raise millions through small donations over the Internet from committed citizens. For the first time, populist tribunes had no need to bite their tongues to attract big-money contributors. This change will have lasting effects, not only on presidential races but also down the ticket as well. For example, Progressive Majority is recruiting "the next generation of Paul Wellstones," identifying candidates for state and local offices and providing them with training, campaign organization and progressive coalition endorsements in selected states across the country. MoveOn and Dean's new organization Democracy for America have committed to asking their members to help provide early money for those campaigns, offering progressive challengers at the local level the opportunity to be financially competitive and independent from the start.

## 4. Progressives Building

Even as progressive activists were rousing Democratic Party leaders from their torpor, they were building an infrastructure independent of party institutions that, if sustained at scale, can provide the motor for political movement, like the infrastructure the right built in the 1970s and '80s. As Howard Dean pledged at the Campaign for America's Future "Take Back America" conference in June, "We're not only going to take back the White House and elect Democrats to office, we're going to create an independent movement to hold them accountable and keep them honest."

The ground war this fall will be waged by independent organizations—called 527s for the tax-code provision they operate under—formed by progressive activists from labor, America Coming Together, Voices for Working Families and others. Perhaps the most important initiative was formed with little press notice by the AFL-CIO. Working America offered employees in working-class neighborhoods associate membership in the federation, enabling the association to provide them with its full political education and voter mobilization program. Citizen organizations like ACORN and USAction dramatically expanded voter registration and Get Out the Vote activities and sophistication. Progressives also augmented the think tanks and research institutions vital for challenging the policies of the right. The well-funded Center for American Progress provided aggressive daily challenges to the Bush debacles. The Institute for America's Future launched initiatives on jobs, energy independence, education and kitchen-table issues that helped frame the alternative agenda. The Economic Policy Institute operated with new sophistication in challenging the Bush record on jobs and wages. MoveOn, True Majority and Working Assets are pioneering new forms of web-based activism, showing the ability to mobilize their members into action via the web and on the ground. MoveOn, ACORN, the National Education Association and the Campaign for America's Future are organizing the largest mobilization on public education ever this fall.

MoveOn led the air war against Bush, with independent ad campaigns in selected states. When Bush spent $31 million in April seeking to bury Kerry before he got a chance to introduce himself to most Americans, MoveOn and the Media Fund jumped in to counter the Bush pre-emptive thrust. In the political culture wars, progressives are soaring; anti-Bush assaults topped the best-seller lists. *The Nation* is now the highest-circulation political weekly in the country. Web-based portals like TomPaine.com, AlterNet, Common Dreams and BuzzFlash gained ever greater readership and vitality. And of course, Michael Moore's award-winning *Fahrenheit 9/11* shattered all box-office earnings records for documentaries and galvanized audiences nationwide with its searing indictment of Bush and the debacle in Iraq.

At the state and local levels, a new grouping of the Center for Policy Alternatives, Demos and the Center on Wisconsin Strategies provided a growing challenge to the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), the right-wing policy shop. In electoral politics, Wellstone Action and Democrats 2000 provide increased capacity to train campaign activists, as Progressive Majority builds a new generation of progressive leaders from the bottom up.

## 5. The Way Forward

The first imperative is to re-defeat George Bush in the 2004 presidential election. That will require fierce, passionate and smart efforts by progressive forces. Bush isn't much interested in the world, and surely doesn't concern himself with running the government. His passion is political campaigns, and, as a student of Lee Atwater, he is famous for running disciplined and vicious campaigns. The Republican attack machine will gear up to turn John Kerry into a Frenchman, Teresa Heinz Kerry into an alien and John Edwards into a cat's-paw of the trial lawyers lobby.

While laboring for victory this fall, progressives should harbor no illusions about a Kerry presidency. This election will represent the defeat of the right, not the victory of a progressive movement. As the Clinton years taught us, progressives must gear up to hold the administration accountable and be prepared to fight pitched battles to forward progressive reforms and counter backsliding. Central to this effort, progressives must put forth their own bold reform agenda, and campaign for it. It should include kitchen-table concerns like affordable healthcare and high-quality education; challenges to the vapid national security debate; and strategic reforms to empower workers, challenge media concentration and reaffirm the right to vote. If MoveOn joined with progressive unions to drive the plan,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we could hold candidates accountable to that agenda in 2006.

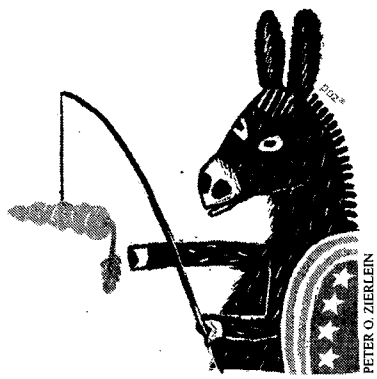
Real progress will depend on the left's doing a far better job at forging coalitions across racial lines. Any enduring progressive majority must enlist enthusiastic leadership and participation from minority communities. Progressive organizations and activities must reflect the coalition we hope to build. Forging that coalition will enable progressives to begin targeting districts and states in the South and Southwest, where Republicans can be taught the perils of being a party of white sanctuary. The end of the conservative era is clearly in sight—even as the right uses its political machine to fight a rear-guard action to maintain power. Perhaps the worst legacy of that era is the shackles it has put on our imagination. The corporate domination of both parties suffocates possibilities. The staggering weight of our military budgets and global apparatus distorts America's role in the world. The conservative assault on government still cripples our sense of what is possible.

But victory in 2004 can open a new chapter. That will require continued mobilization and continued invention and continued struggle. Conservatives say "TINA"—there is no alternative. But they are wrong. A better America is possible, and 2004 can mark the turning. ■

TWENTY YEARS AFTER JESSE JACKSON'S HISTORIC RUN FOR PRESIDENT, WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

# The Rainbow's Gravity

**JoANN WYPIJEWSKI**




Last December, when the smart money was on Howard Dean for the Democratic nomination, when long-shot bettors were talking about Al Sharpton pulling a surprise in the South Carolina primary, when nobody but the Democratic leadership believed John Kerry was "electable," Jesse Jackson was working the South as if a campaign depended on it. At South Carolina State, children with American flags and grown-ups in their Sunday clothes were waiting on him, while the pep band played and a clutch of aides talked into their cellphones. Jackson was late, traveling from a rally in Goose Creek, where police had raided a high school, forcing 107 kids to their knees, guns to their head, in a search for drugs that turned up nothing. Blacks make up less than a quarter of the student body, Jackson explained after finally bounding onstage, but accounted for two-thirds of those terrorized in the raid. Blacks make up 30 percent of South Carolina's population, but account for 70 percent of its prisoners, who build auto transmissions while real-paying jobs drain away. Twenty years after his first run for the Democratic nomination, Jackson was in his natal state speaking truths on the rigged rules of race and class that the candidates couldn't or wouldn't, while stressing the imperative of an engaged citizenry. "Keep hope alive!" he urged yet again, and amid an exuberance of cheers there was something in the sullen silence of a row of teenagers that told the difference between the then and now. Jackson mightn't have noticed. In a flash he was off—to a school, to a preachers' lunch, cellphones a'ringing in the borrowed limo, on to Raleigh and thence to Birmingham, "mobilizing the masses," as he put it.

Nobody else was going to do it. For all the candidates' talk about grassroots power, nobody even tried. Explanations abound: the hurry-up primary schedule, the Dean campaign's failure to translate its grassroots fundraising strategy into an investment strategy for indigenous organization; the flim-flam of the Sharpton campaign (or "scampaign," as one black South Carolina woman dubbed it) fueled by white Republican dirty-trickster Roger Stone; the relative poverty of the Kucinich camp and its tactical decision to bypass the South, hence African-Americans; the laurel of inevitability conferred upon Kerry after Iowa. But the political culture that ordered those choices owes to something older, deeper: to 1984, when Jackson launched a grassroots campaign the likes of which the country had never seen; and to the two roads that diverged out of the ultimate wreckage of that year's general election. One was marked "Rainbow Coalition," the other "The Backlash." The former would launch another presidential campaign in 1988, the most formidable internal party challenge in modern times; the latter would constitute itself as the Democratic Leadership Council, a different kind of internal challenge, one hostile to the grassroots (it favored the term "special interests") and determined to make the party safe, or safer, for white men. We live with the legacy of both efforts, and in a sense both coil back to Jackson. In the American dialectic of race, power and politics, the "legacy" of a black-led, left-leaning, populist challenge would never be a simple thing; if the side of the people was emboldened, so were the tribunes of what Jackson once called "the cash system dominated by white men." If Jackson projected a vision and provided an example of a new kind of movement engagement in electoral politics, the failure to motor that forward must not be his alone. The vital questions on this anniversary, therefore, cannot be contained within the parenthesis of Jackson's personal leaps and limitations. How did progressive forces discharge their responsibilities? How did the Democratic Party respond to the invitation of history? What was gained, and what remains lacking?

Those who did not live in 1984 and 1988 cannot know how sweet a national electoral campaign season can be. Not sweet in the ordinary sense, for there was abundant ugliness, but in that

*JoAnn Wypijewski is a writer in New York City. She was a volunteer for the Jackson campaign in the 1988 New York primary.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sense where ossification gives way to possibility, where something new appears on the scene that seems to rearrange the pieces on the playing table. It was Reagan time, and Democrats were in retreat. Jackson says now that he never had a mind to run for President, but then the leading Democratic liberals did something that had to be answered. Harold Washington was running for mayor of Chicago in 1983, and though his organization was distinct from Jackson's, when news came that Ted Kennedy and Walter Mondale were coming to back Washington's opponents, as Jackson tells it, "We thought, This couldn't be true; these are our guys. So we got together about a hundred black leaders saying, Please don't come. Please respect our alliance. And they came anyway."

Washington won anyway, with a black base that had been deepening for at least ten years, due in part to voter-registration efforts and a methodical training program of Jackson's Operation PUSH that in the early 1970s taught the A to Z of electoral organizing—"the best thing I've ever seen in terms of grassroots politics," according to Frank Watkins, who joined PUSH in 1971 and would later be communications director for the presidential campaigns. Meanwhile in Boston, Mel King had put together what he was the first to call a Rainbow Coalition for mayoral runs in 1979 and 1983. Nationally, black leftists were looking for electoral options, and within the black mainstream, discussions over how to respond to Reaganism inevitably led also to the indifference of "our guys." The question of What should we demand of them? amped up into Why not go after them? The only remaining matter was Who should run?

*People with the campaigns say it was the amplification of issues and bolstering of ground forces that are Jackson's profoundest achievements.*

That black establishment "wanted very much not to anoint Jesse Jackson," recalls Ron Walters, a political scientist who would be Jackson's deputy campaign manager for issues. And indeed Jackson ran in 1984 without its support. He was considered too brash, too much the maverick, untutored and untested. But Jackson was the candidate of opportunity, and in any case no one else had the moxie to try. Plus Jackson knew the terrain.

"The guy had basically spent the twenty years before that campaigning," says Steve Cobble, who started working for Jackson in 1987 and most recently advised the Kucinich campaign. "No one thought of it as that, but the point is he wasn't showing up the first time as a candidate. That was one of Al's problems this year. It was one of Dennis's problems. Even if people liked you, they liked you on paper; they didn't know you. Jackson they knew. In every state he'd visited, he had people that would offer their church or do volunteer work or bring people out." He knew the deejays, knew how to use free media, so by the time he ran, says Eric Easter, who dealt with the press during the campaigns, he'd begin each day calling black radio shows in about twenty states.

More directly, in 1983 Jackson had toured the South, registering voters in political revival meetings that would contribute to a 30 percent increase in black registration there between 1982 and 1984. In 1980 he'd been on the primary campaign trail, leading rallies on issues he'd hoped the Democrats would embrace. He called it a Third Force Strategy. "We were in Ames, Iowa, before the caucus," says Watkins, now communications director for Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. "Seven hundred fifty people had come out for Kennedy; 1,000 came for Jackson, and people couldn't get in. But we were ignored by the press, ignored by the candidates. I'd actually tried to get Reverend to run in 1979, but he wouldn't do it. Now I told him, 'Unless you're a candidate, no one will pay attention.'"

So he ran. "I ran then to challenge our progressive white allies to accept our issues and our pain, not just our votes," Jackson said recently. "We're still convinced, and still trying to convince the party, that expanding the pool of voters is key to winning—but also dealing with the issues that matter to them. Many people want their votes but don't want their issues. Conservatives try to oppress them; progressives want to wave at 'em but not get involved in the grease and the blood and the grit of dealing with their issues, because their issues create a weighty matter of substance."

Looking back, people with the campaigns say it was the amplification of issues, and the bolstering of ground forces driving them, that are Jackson's profoundest achievements. Walters coordinated twenty-three issue desks in the '84 campaign. "It was like a school right in the middle of the campaign headquarters," he says. "No one else at that level was talking about environmental racism, 'no first use' of nuclear weapons; antiapartheid (remember, the ANC was a 'terrorist organization'); the Arab-Israeli situation." No other candidate had an economic policy based on major investment and cuts in the military, a program Bill Clinton would run on in 1992 (though abandon forthwith). None advocated extension of the Congressional health plan to all Americans. None regarded gay rights as inherent in a larger moral claim and not simply something to be pandered to. None twinned race and class so naturally. None had ever been black.

"Without Jesse, I don't think the antiapartheid movement would have occurred with the strength or vigor that it had," the historian Manning Marable observes, noting the relationships forged in the campaign that boosted that movement and others as well. A full accounting of everyone who "took what they learned and ran with it" can probably never be done, says Eric Easter, who consulted with Dean's campaign in 2003–04. They range from Paul Wellstone, whose 1990 senatorial campaign came out of the Rainbow; to gay activists, who created consciously multiracial projects; to family farmers and Southerners, who planted a garden of organizations; to Latinos and Asian-Americans, who pumped up their political volume; to Tammy Baldwin, who worked for the Rainbow in Wisconsin, entered politics and fashioned a coalition of students, farmers, workers, environmentalists and progressives that would, by 1998, elect her to Congress, the first woman in the state's history and the first openly gay nonincumbent in the nation's. When Baldwin talks about building support both inside Washington and outside in the communities for universal healthcare or daycare or civil rights, she echoes Jackson's campaigns.

Certainly, says Ron Daniels, who was organizing the Rainbow Coalition after '84, became deputy campaign manager in '88 and now directs the Center for Constitutional Rights, "in terms of synthesizing a reformist and radical message, and linking vision to policy to action, those were tremendous contributions," and—

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially on the Middle East—"pretty heavy stuff."

"Madeleine Albright told me at the '84 convention, 'If you even raise this issue [Palestine], you'll destroy this party,'" says Jim Zogby, a deputy campaign manager in 1983, senior adviser and vice chair in 1988, who went on to start the Arab American Institute. "The debate then was, Could you even talk to Palestinians? In the middle of all that, for Jackson to say 'our time, your time, has come' was empowering. There was a raw excitement about being included. But those were difficult years. After the convention, Mondale sent back the money Arab-American businessmen contributed to his campaign. After the election the political director of the DNC told me, 'We can't deal with you because if we do, another group will be angry with us.' I said that's not only insulting to us, it's anti-Semitic. Jackson urged us, Don't give up; the threat you pose is to stick around and fight. In 1988, I led the platform fight for a plank on mutual recognition and territorial compromise. We had a debate but no vote. We made a dent, but what it took to get there was huge."

"One of the things that I loved about Jackson, and still do," says Bill Fletcher Jr., now head of TransAfrica Forum and at the time involved in labor efforts in the Rainbow, "is that Jackson refused to be pigeonholed. In that sense he represented the best in real black political leadership. It wasn't simply ethnic leadership; it was a leader speaking on all the issues of the day from the perspective of being an African-American, so that that African-American*ness* infused his viewpoints. What I have found in most white institutions is a failure to accept that and respect that in people of color, and I think it was one of the things that was infuriating to much of the Democratic Party officialdom about Jackson."

Including plantation-mentality black officialdom, stresses Gwen Patton, a longtime Alabama activist and former Rainbow Coalition board member. In Montgomery black politicians collaborated with the white media to attack Jackson and his supporters, even working the polls against him, offering "unsolicited voter's assistance." But Jackson won the black vote in the state, as he did nationwide. As Patton wrote in a biting 1984 analysis in *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*: "Jackson restored human dignity—the essence of freedom which had been sapped by Black politicians in the wake of the people's victory to wrest their citizenship rights from the segregationists. Jackson's candidacy proved that...true leaders are advocates—are waves, as Shirley Chisholm so eloquently says, pushed ahead by the Movement ship steered by the masses." In 1988 Jackson won the Alabama primary outright; this time black officials were on board ship, and grasping at the controls.

Overall, Jackson placed third in 1984, with 3.5 million votes, and the pundits who'd said he would be the party's ruin watched as Walter Mondale, heedless of Rainbow constituents and their issues, crashed in defeat. In 1988, Jackson placed second, winning over 7 million votes, more than Mondale had scored in 1984; and 1,218.5 convention delegates, more than any runner-up in history. Again the pundits, here in *The New Republic*, warned of "certain and apocalyptic defeat" if Jackson were given a spot on the Democratic ticket. He wasn't, and Michael Dukakis, as heedless as Mondale and hitched to Lloyd Bentsen, a DLC Democrat, suffered his own private apocalypse.

Jackson likes to recount a story from 1989, about a visit to Camp Solidarity in Virginia, where miners were in the midst of

PEN American Center presents

State of Emergency:
Unconventional Readings

featuring:

Laurie Anderson Paul Auster Russell Banks
Michael Cunningham Don DeLillo Joan Didion
Jonathan Safran Foer A.M. Homes Margo Jefferson
Edward P. Jones Walter Dean Myers Salman Rushdie
Monique Truong Kurt Vonnegut and others

Wednesday, August 4th, 2004 - 7:00 p.m. (doors open at 6:30)
The Great Hall, Cooper Union: 7 East 7th St. at Third Avenue

**FREE ADMISSION**

For information, call PEN: (212) 334-1660, ext. 107 or visit www.pen.org

*Cosponsored by the Cooper Union Office of Continuing Education & Public Programs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the historic Pittston strike. They were, for the most part, large men, white, partial to camouflage, 10,000 strong. Jackson thought they looked pretty fierce. Rich Trumka, then president of the United Mine Workers, told them, "Y'all probably wondering why Jesse Jackson is here. Last year we were told to be scared of him. And this year the folks we gave our money to are nowhere to be seen. So I want you to ask yourselves, Which would you rather have, a black friend or a white enemy?"

It was a question other Southern white trade unionists had raised during the campaigns with their memberships, many of them Reagan Democrats. As elsewhere, the miners listened and responded enthusiastically. Jackson always maintained that a progressive candidate could reach such Democrats with straight talk, empathy, class-angled economics and an appeal to common human values—what veteran activist Anne Braden, who'd organized Rainbow rallies in Appalachia that drew thousands of poor white nonvoters or registered Republicans, called "appealing to the best instincts of Southern whites as opposed to the worst, which is what Bill Clinton played to."

*To speak with Rainbow warriors now is to confront a deep disappointment that in 1989 Jackson decided against institutionalizing the Rainbow.*

The Pittston story provokes a question now. After all the energy, vision, galvanizing presence and new voters Jackson brought to the scene, can it be said that the party and established progressive institutions answered in the same way as the plain people? Or did they, perhaps, prefer the white enemy to the black friend?

In reviewing what happened with Rainbow politics after 1988, it is common to focus on Jackson. Certainly, he had sharp critics on the left long before he ran, people who called him, variously, an opportunist, a showboat, a capitalist roader, a man too concerned with getting "in" and not enough with the theory and practice of organization. To speak with Rainbow warriors now is to confront a persistent, deep disappointment that in the spring of 1989 Jackson decided against institutionalizing the Rainbow as a mass-based, democratic, independent membership organization that could pursue the inside-outside strategy he'd articulated vis-à-vis the Democrats and build strength locally and nationally to leverage power for progressive aims. Instead, as Ron Daniels, who'd drawn up various plans for such an organization, puts it, Jackson opted for "a light and lean operation." It was, he says, "a lost opportunity." Fletcher captures the general tenor of disappointment: "Jackson inspired a level of activity in electoral politics that I've never seen. He encouraged people who were cynical to get involved. The Rainbow pumped people up, and then it deflated them. And the problem is that it then becomes very difficult to reinflate. I think that he overestimated his own strength in the Democratic Party and was seduced by those, particularly in the black political establishment, that suddenly fawned all over him. But what he'd created, rather than a permanent Jackson wing of the party, was a very broad insurgency within and outside the party. And so, ironically, in demobilizing the Rainbow, he also committed a coup against himself."

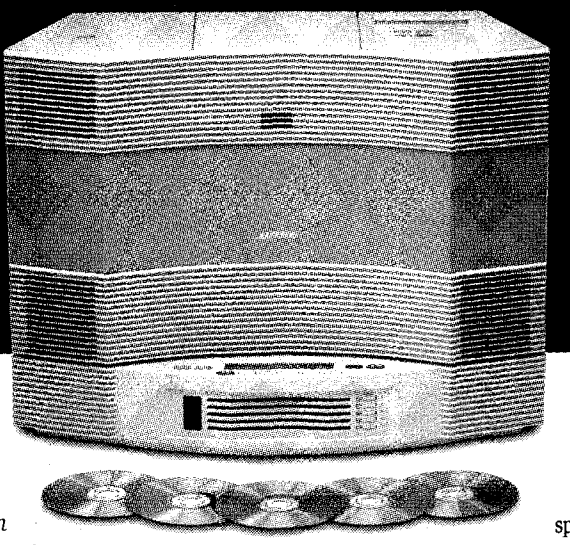
It would take more than an article to unravel all the hurts and hopes, the calculations and miscalculations. And because that other organization—imagined as a left variant on the Christian Coalition—never materialized, the might-have-beens are frozen in the amber of conjecture. Jackson himself says, "I like that idea. It's a good idea. But it would've required infrastructure and resources and discipline. You can't just wish something like that into working." Privately, one of his close campaign associates said, "I think Jackson didn't want to have to referee between different parts of his coalition. By 1988 the tensions were already clear. The activists were getting supplanted by the elected officials; the Congress people were telling the lefty radicals to tone it down. The sectarians in various places were trying to take it over internally, and you know the left has never solved that question. We had the most diverse, most little-d democratic, most American delegation anybody's ever sent to a convention, in '88. But if we had just had grassroots little-d democratic votes everywhere, we'd have had a delegation made up almost entirely of black ministers, because they could outvote certainly the gay and lesbian representative, the white Central America activists. Some state coordinators are still catching hell for the choices they made." No doubt, says Anne Braden, "he probably thought he had a tiger by the tail, and maybe he felt he couldn't control it. But on the Rainbow board, people felt we were doing fine. He needed to trust the people more who really wanted to make it work." Privately others say Jackson is incapable of engaging in the kind of dialogue and delegation of authority that sustaining that type of organization would have required.

But if that debate is full of unknowns, plenty of knowns still prick the conscience. In 1984, as Andrew Kopkind and Alexander Cockburn wrote in these pages, Jackson and the Rainbow represented the historical base and radical message for which the left had been yearning in an electoral wilderness. Yet labor, NOW, Democratic Socialists, organized gays and lesbians, other likely constituencies went their own way or, worse, into the arms of Mondale, who, like John Kerry today, accepted the essential premises of the Republican program, except tax cuts, and quarreled merely with the execution. Between '84 and '88, as Cobble notes, "no one of any prominence among white progressives came to Jackson and said, 'We want you to run'; none of the magazines, none of the organizations, only a couple of labor unions (AFGE, the Machinists, 1199). In '88 the only large organization that wasn't black that backed him was ACORN. *The Nation* didn't endorse until April, which was pretty dang late. After '88 Jackson clearly now is the frontrunner for the nomination. Did the unions say, 'Jesse, let's go, let's start right now for '92'? Did any of the liberal organizations? No. NOW announced it was putting together a commission to study a third party. Jackson's the front-runner for the major-party nomination, and suddenly they're thinking about organizing a third party!"

"Front-runner" talk always disconcerted leftists who cared more about the Rainbow's movement potential. Yet whatever else he could or couldn't do, Jackson was a proven, powerful candidate. His grassroots forays helped the Democrats win back the Senate in 1986 and propelled candidates into office at all levels. By the calculus through which liberal institutions ordinarily support Democrats, the nod to Jackson should have been uncontroversial. A labor official, asked why, after '88, unions would not have seen where their own future best interests lay, said, "That's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Same award-winning performance. Now available with a 5-CD Changer.



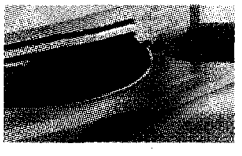
Shown with optional 5-CD Changer

When we introduced the Acoustic Wave® music system, audio critic Wayne Thompson called it "simply the best-sounding compact stereo system in captivity." *Sound & Vision* reported that it delivers "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." By offering the sound of a big, complicated stereo system – but from an all-in-one music system hardly the size of a briefcase – the Bose® Acoustic Wave® music system set a new industry standard.

So how did we make this award-winning system even better? By listening to owners and developing the CD changer they asked for. Engineered specifically for the Acoustic Wave® music system, our separate 5-CD Changer allows you to enjoy hours of music. You can even use it to connect other audio sources to your system – transforming it into a versatile audio center for movies, music and more.

## Lifelike sound – without interruption.

Our 5-CD Changer lets you savor the Acoustic Wave® music system's award-winning sound for hours on end. Load your five favorite CDs and press Play. You'll hear your music come to life with crystal clear highs and deep, enveloping lows that fill the room.



Patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology – which won the "Invention of the Year" award – is what allows the Acoustic Wave® music system to deliver such a spacious, lifelike performance. And our 5-CD Changer lets you enjoy that room-filling sound without ever having to stop the music to change CDs.

## Beyond music – without complication.

Our 5-CD Changer also lets you connect your Acoustic Wave® system to additional audio sources and switch among them at the press of a button. Connect it to your TV, VCR, DVD player or computer – and enjoy Bose quality sound from everything you listen to or watch.

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer were both designed for complete ease of operation. An AM/FM radio, CD player and three speakers are all built into the Acoustic Wave® music system, so there are no confusing wires to hook up or dials to adjust. And the credit card-sized remote control lets you operate the system and all CD-changer functions with ease.

## Try them for yourself, risk free.

Experience the Acoustic Wave® music system and our versatile, easy-to-use 5-CD Changer in the comfort of your own home for 30 days. If you're not completely satisfied, you may return your purchase for a full refund. Order now, and receive three top-selling Time-Life multi-CD collections free – yours to enjoy with your new Acoustic Wave® music system. When you call, be sure to ask about our **12-month no-interest payment plan.***

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer are available from Bose, the most respected name in sound.

## Call 1-800-310-9652

**Ext. G6553**

**For information on all our products: www.bose.com/g6553**

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Day Phone_____ Eve. Phone_____

E-mail (Optional) _____

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-G6553, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*On your Bose Preferred Customer credit card, subject to credit approval. The Bose Preferred Customer credit card is offered and administered by Household Bank (SB), N.A. This is a Same As Cash offer. If the balance on these purchases is paid in full before the expiration of the 12-month promotional period and your Account is kept current, accrued Finance Charges will not be imposed on these purchases. If the balance on these purchases is not paid in full, Finance Charges will be assessed from the purchase date at the variable Standard Rate APR of Prime Rate + 12.5 percentage points (19.8% as of 5/1/04). For Accounts not kept current, the variable Default Rate APR of Prime Rate + 16.5 percentage points (23.8% as of 5/1/04) will be applied to all balances on your account. Minimum Standard APR 19.8%. Minimum Default APR 23.8%. Minimum monthly payments are required. Minimum Finance Charge $1.00. Certain rules apply to the allocation of payments and Finance Charges on your promotional purchase if you make more than one purchase on your Bose Preferred Customer credit card. Call 1-888-367-4310 or review your cardholder agreement for information. ©2004 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and Time-Life CD collection offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 8/15/89; Julian Hirsch, *Sound & Vision*, 3/85.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not the way those people do business; they don't do the outreach." But there was nothing business-as-usual about Jackson, who'd walked picket lines for decades. Frank Watkins was more direct: "The reason labor didn't do that is they're racist. The reason civil rights organizations didn't is they're jealous. The reason the women didn't is they're suspicious."

Someone else *was* doing outreach. In the spring of '89, Al From, intellectual architect of the Democratic Leadership Council, paid a visit to Governor Clinton in Little Rock. Unlike progressive forces, the backlash Democrats recognized the utility of a charismatic candidate, and of starting early. For 1984 they'd won rules changes, introducing the concept of "superdelegates" to shift power from party activists to elected officials. Jackson managed to negotiate limits on those delegates in 1984. The next year the DLC formally constituted itself. For '88 it advocated one big Southern primary, Super Tuesday, to secure the nomination, it expected, for a white conservative. Jackson swept Super Tuesday, besting the DLC's favorite son, Al Gore. When Jackson then took 54 percent of the vote in Michigan, what appeared in tantalizing prospect was a new party paradigm—neither the New Deal alliance of Northern liberals, blue collars and Jim Crow, nor post-McGovern liberalism with its smorgasbord of interests and its white elite firmly in charge of portion-control. Party liberals had a choice; they chose reaction.

*'"World champions and you MVP, you a nigger." That's exactly how I think the Democratic Party sees Jesse.' —Kevin Gray*

As outlined in Kenneth Baer's *Reinventing Democrats*, From and Co. were straightforward about rolling back the party to its pre–civil rights past, where the issue of "special interests" would be submerged for the goal of winning, and winning would mean reinstituting what Congressman Jackson calls the "Democratic Legacy of the Confederacy." In the run-up to the 1992 race, Clinton's people, as recounted in Marshall Frady's book *Jesse*, would confer with old Mondale hands asking, "Why did you guys give so much to Jackson? You shouldn't've got pushed around like that." The iconic image of '92 would be Clinton and Senator Sam Nunn posing at Stone Mountain, Georgia, the graven images of the Confederacy's heroes looming in the background, and in the middle distance, a group of black prisoners.

"The error," says Kevin Gray, who coordinated Jackson's winning campaign in South Carolina in '88 and organized for the '84 win as well, "was in assuming we ever left the Age of Reagan, and not carrying the critique to the Age of Clinton. Where Jesse dropped the ball is he became a Democrat. Instead of a small-d democrat, he became a big-D Democrat—except with an asterisk."

Asterisk? "You know the line, 'World champions and you MVP, you a nigger,/Four degrees and a PhD, still a nigger.' And that's exactly how I think the Democratic Party sees Jesse. Now, I have disagreements with the brother—I think he squandered his leverage, which was our leverage, because the beauty of Jesse running was the threat that we all might one day walk, or even the threat to disrupt things, and for African-Americans in this political system, hell, that's the only power we got. That and moral authority, especially as relates to a Democratic Party that styles itself as having the interests of black folk at heart. Are they living up to it? Hell no. But, now, everybody else got to look in that mirror too. What did the Rainbow stripes get from Bill Clinton? And where were progressive forces on that?"

By a brisk accounting, the black stripe of the Rainbow got the crime bill, women got "welfare reform," labor got NAFTA, gays and lesbians got DOMA (the Defense of Marriage Act). Even with a Democratic Congress in the early years, the peace crowd got no cuts in the military; unions got no help on the right to organize; advocates of DC statehood, which would virtually guarantee more Democrats in Congress, got nothing. None of them fought together, if they fought at all. On affirmative action, Jackson had to threaten Clinton privately with an independent run in 1996 before the President declared, "Mend it, don't end it." Marable points out that between Clinton's inaugural and the day he left office, some 650,000 more people were incarcerated; today one in eight black men is barred from voting because of prison, probation or parole. "Talk about amputating your base," he says. Ideologically, however, it was not Clinton's base, the DLC base, that was attacked. It was Jackson's base, the Rainbow base.

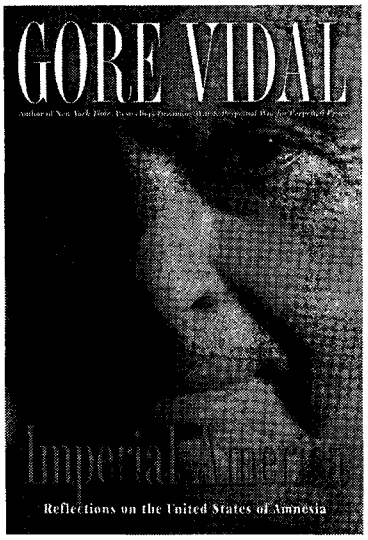
Now for every national election, the party underwrites Jackson's loyalty by contracting him to boost voter participation. He believes in it, but the indifference of those South Carolina teenagers last year is multiplied many times over in black communities, where, as Gilda Cobb-Hunter, a progressive South Carolina legislator who was a 1984 Jackson delegate, says, "I hear it all the time: 'I ain't votin'. Ain't nothin' gonna change.'" Half a million blacks in the state are "missing voters," she says, either unregistered or no-shows on Election Day, and no one person can "deliver them all." Nationwide the number is 13 million. Counting whites and others similarly disposed, mostly poor and working-class, it's 100 million. For Jackson there's a contradiction in being a prophetic voice of opposition and the party's paid vote rustler. As he knows better than anyone, people don't vote for just anyone—perhaps the greatest, discounted lesson of 1984.

The day that Ronald Reagan died, Jackson was preparing for a barnstorm through Appalachia. There was a telling symmetry about it. Twenty years ago, as Reagan lashed out at "welfare queens" and projected a fantasyland America, Jackson was in those same hills and hollows, pressing against the flesh and suffered facts of the real thing. It was the children of Appalachia about whom Reagan had said, Let them eat ketchup! and whom America today has sent to kill and die in Iraq. "Why are we going to Appalachia?" Jackson said. "Because that's where our soul is." Our shame, too; along with the Black Belt South, it is the region with the most unemployment, the poorest people, the sickest people, the most persistent underdevelopment, whichever party holds power and however prosperous the time. Urging "Reinvest in America" and co-sponsored by a host of unions that never put their names to a Rainbow campaign, the tour was Third Force all over again, including the blackout from a press gorging on the myth of Reagan, man of the people.

"I do not approach America cynically," Jackson said, "because I did not know a day where we did not have to struggle. People ask about anniversaries—fifty years since *Brown*, forty years since the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# New from Nation Books.




## IMPERIAL AMERICA
### Reflections on the United States of Amnesia
By GORE VIDAL

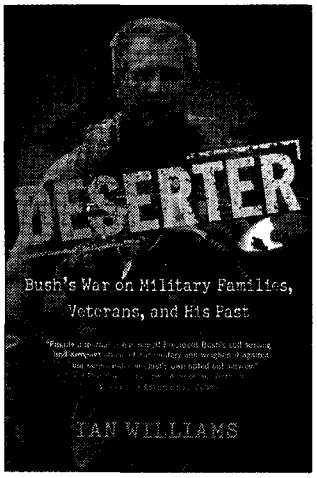
"The master essayist of our age." –*Washington Post*

"He is a treasure of the state." –*New York Times Book Review*

*Imperial America* is the conclusion to Gore Vidal's landmark, bestselling trilogy, and his most devastating exploration of contemporary America to date. Included is his scathing, Olympian survey of American Empire, where, "for the busy fanatics who rule over us, we are permanently the United States of Amnesia. We learn nothing because we remember nothing."

$18.00

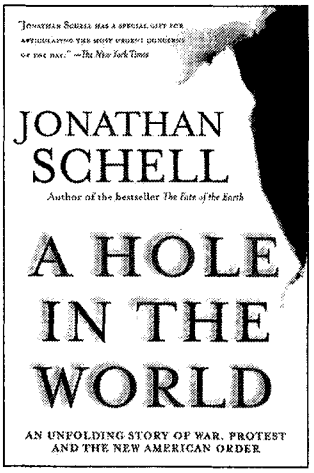
---




**DESERTER**
**Bush's War on Military Families, Veterans and His Past**
By IAN WILLIAMS

"Williams describes a President who inhabits a world where the soldiers are tin, where our brave men and women are reduced to photo opportunities in service not of their country's security but the President's warped political and foreign policy agendas. As a veteran I cheer Williams's courage even as I lament the exploitation of our troops."
–Bobby Muller, president of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation

$12.95


JONATHAN SCHELL
Author of the bestseller The Fate of the Earth
A HOLE IN THE WORLD
AN UNFOLDING STORY OF WAR, PROTEST AND THE NEW AMERICAN ORDER

**A HOLE IN THE WORLD**
**An Unfolding Story of War, Protest and the New American Order**
By JONATHAN SCHELL

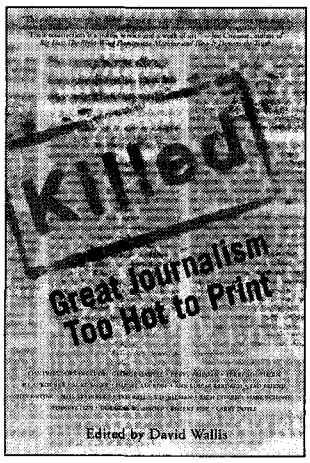
A collection of Jonathan Schell's post-9/11 *Nation* columns on the new American way of living, dying and killing.

"A modern rejoinder to I.F. Stone's *In a Time of Torment*." –*Kirkus Reviews*

"Schell has a special gift for articulating the most urgent concerns of the day." –*The New York Times*

$13.95

---



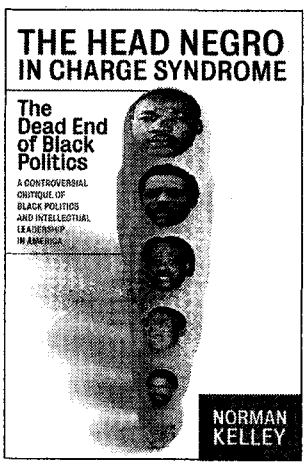

**KILLED**
**Great Journalism Too Hot to Print**
Edited and introduced by DAVID WALLIS

*Killed* resurrects remarkable articles that publications like *Harper's*, *Vanity Fair* and *The New Yorker* assigned to renowned writers, then discarded because of their potential for unwanted controversy.

"A provocative compilation." –*Publishers Weekly*

"Rock-the-boat journalism deemed too hot to handle." –*Elle* magazine

$16.95


THE HEAD NEGRO IN CHARGE SYNDROME
The Dead End of Black Politics
A CONTROVERSIAL CRITIQUE OF BLACK POLITICS AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA
NORMAN KELLEY

**THE HEAD NEGRO IN CHARGE SYNDROME**
**The Dead End of Black Politics**
By NORMAN KELLEY

*The Head Negro in Charge Syndrome* is an incisive new polemic by social commentator Norman Kelley that explores the decline of black political culture over the past generation from bold, results-oriented politics to symbolism and corruption.

"Kelley does not spare anyone or any segment of U.S. culture and politics in his books." –*Counterpunch*

$13.95

Available at bookstores and www.nationbooks.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Civil Rights Act—and say, 'What happened in fifty years?' It's a good question, but what about what happened before fifty years? For 335 years race supremacy was the law of the land. Then the law changed but the culture didn't. The *idea* of a nonracist society, legally, is just fifty years old. When we ran, the Voting Rights Act was just nineteen years old. So it's still early in the morning. And it's a bit different between African-Americans and our white progressive allies. For us, liberals and conservatives are often two sides of the same coin. No liberal ever had to fight to use a toilet. No liberal ever had to fight for the right to vote, fight to stay in a hotel, fight to buy ice cream at a Howard Johnson's with money. No liberal is scared today because there are so many ways the constituency can be killed. And there's a culture that goes with that. So you're always fighting two battles. You're fighting the culture in your own huddle as you're fighting the other side. You're pushing political ideas and cultural transformation at the same time. What was gratifying about the campaigns was moving that process, and that process is irreversible."

Electorally, this year's Illinois Senate race is another stage in the process. Barack Obama, 42, is likely to become the only black senator come November. At the Rainbow/PUSH convention in June, the mere mention of his name by John Kerry prompted a standing ovation. As Marable notes, Obama (like Baldwin and Jesse Jr.) is representative of "that generation of the left that came to political maturity in the 1980s informed by three pivotal motions, around AIDS, antiapartheid and the Jackson campaigns." Coming up his own way—Harvard, local elective office, "the Rainbow via Tiger Woods," as journalist John Nichols aptly put it—Obama nevertheless followed a Jacksonian strategy, solidifying his black base, then appealing to Latinos, Asian-Americans, white liberals, farmers, gays and lesbians, labor, with a message of economic justice and opposition to the war that, again, presents an alternative to DLC politics. For a party in search of stars, Obama could be it. But as his friend Camelia Odeh, a 1988 Jackson delegate, longtime Palestinian organizer and executive director of the South West Youth Collaborative in Chicago, cautions: "I wouldn't put so much on the individual. We need more than that on the left—a discourse around ideologies and, beyond only activism, genuine grassroots community organizing. Then when the individual can't pull through or has to compromise, people don't get demoralized."

Perhaps it will take the generation behind Obama for that. At a recent conference of Democratic progressives, the younger cohort, more reflective of rainbowism than their elders, were talking about technology but also "beauty parlor/barbershop" organizing; about voter registration but also about using electoral politics tactically, because "our issues don't go away after the election"; about remembering that "the people need hope" but also regarding the Democratic Party without illusion. The name Kerry never came up. Their issues fell within what Jackson had called "the trilogy of racism, exploitative capitalism and militarism," what Martin Luther King had first named "the triple evils." In their 20s mostly, they weren't quite advocating a "restructuring of the whole of American society," as King had, but they did speak of imagining a different world. In their discussion there was the resonance of something I'd heard from Jack O'Dell, an old soldier of the left, who'd worked with Dr. King, worked with Jackson shaping the international agenda. "There are moments," he'd said, "and we have to take from those moments all that is positive, because that's our inheritance. Because of Jesse Jackson's campaigns, we know how to build a grassroots campaign. Without them, we might have the analysis but not the experience. We must still ask ourselves how we can reinvigorate electoral democracy. We can't drop out, as if what we don't like about electoral politics will go away because we abstain. Movements are directed toward political power, and wherever we can get a piece of it, we have to try to get it and hold on to it. Now, we know what Bush is. If we are victorious in defeating Bush, then our assignment is to make what we can of Kerry. And our job begins the next day." ■

## LETTERS
CONTINUED

*(Continued From Page 2)*
ian service "at the discretion of the President" (see www.nisbco.org). JOHN HOWLEY

*Amherst, Mass.*

■ All this talk about bringing back the draft is empty rhetoric unless openly gay men and women are admitted into the military. During the Vietnam draft thousands of young men took dangerous drugs, lived in exile, injured or starved themselves, went to prison or used any other ploy imaginable to avoid military service. All we needed to do was say we were gay, but the stigma was so powerful few would do it—even those who really were gay! Now, with the stigma greatly diminished, if the reactionary "don't ask, don't tell" policy isn't abolished, we will discover that 90 percent of our young folks are gay on induction day. JONATHAN S. KLATE

*Los Angeles*

■ Katha Pollitt, possibly because of her own limited experience with the military, leaves out how the draft affects the military itself—in this respect, the draft is more good than bad. When civilians are interjected into the services there is less chance of criminal behavior going unreported. Regular troops and officers are sometimes too protective of their service records and retirement points to risk whistle-blowing. I, a Navy fighter pilot, have come to agree with my father, who was a rear admiral, on this. The framers of the Constitution wisely insisted that the military be put firmly under civilian control. Over the centuries this setup has helped avoid many atrocities. J.G. BREWER

*Reston, Va.*

■ Skills-based conscription has been talked up as the first wave of the new draft—for instance, drafting people with computer or language skills rather than green kids. This draft would not discriminate by age, so a 55-year-old COBOL programmer—there are no 19-year-old COBOL programmers—or a bilingual Arabic speaker will become fair game. What impact will that have on our support for the war effort, when these people are pulled from their daily lives and forced into military servitude at reduced wages, while their mortgages are tied to the wages they'd been earning back home? JIM PETERS

*Chicago*

■ Katha Pollitt says, "We have ROTC on campus, Junior ROTC in the high schools...." Here in Chicago, at least at my cousin's public school, one can join ROTC as early as the sixth grade. MATTHEW DOBROVOLSKIS

### EMENDATION

■ Naomi Klein reported in her last "Lookout" column [July 12] that Aegis CEO Tim Spicer helped put down rebels and stage a military coup in Papua New Guinea. Actually, although his secret employment by the PNG government to put down rebels became a divisive issue within the PNG military and led to a military coup, Spicer played no role in staging the coup.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

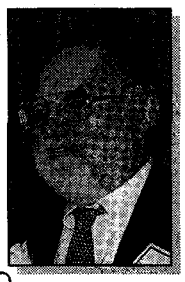
Book Now! Cabins Going Fast!

# The Nation.

## Eastern Caribbean Cruise!

*December 5-12, 2004*

***Victor Navasky and* The Nation *invite you to join our SEVENTH ANNUAL SEMINAR CRUISE.***

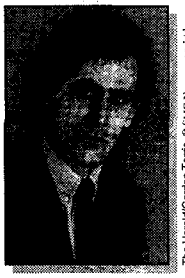


***Victor Navasky***
Publisher and Editorial Director, *The Nation*

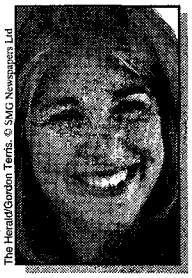
***Katrina vanden Heuvel***
Editor, *The Nation*

***Calvin Trillin***
Bestselling Author and *The Nation*'s "Deadline Poet"

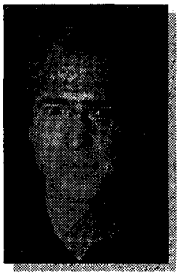
***Molly Ivins***
Political Satirist and *Nation* Contributing Editor



***David Corn***
Washington Editor, *The Nation*



***Naomi Klein***
*Nation* "Lookout" Columnist

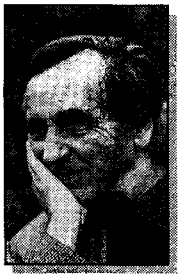


***Christopher Scheer***
Co-author of *The Five Biggest Lies Bush Told Us About Iraq*

***Jonathan Schell***
Author of *Fate of the Earth* and *Nation* Disarmament Correspondent

***Robert Scheer***
Contributing Editor, the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Nation*

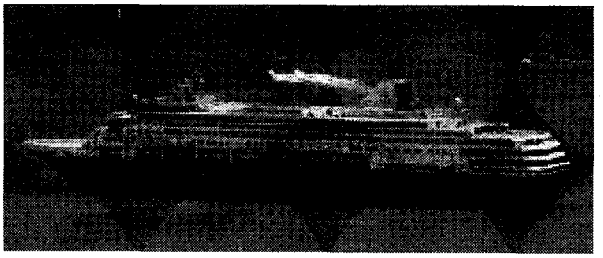
***Patricia J. Williams***
*Nation* "Diary of a Mad Law Professor" Columnist



***William Greider***
*Nation* National Affairs Correspondent

***Amy Wilentz***
*Nation* Contributing Editor and author of *The Rainy Season: Haiti Since Duvalier and Martyrs' Crossing*

| Date | Day | Ports of Call | Arrive | Depart |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec. 5 | Sun | Ft. Lauderdale, Florida | | 5:00PM |
| Dec. 6 | Mon | Nassau, Bahamas | 7:00 AM | 12:00NN |
| Dec. 7 | Tue | Day at Sea | | |
| Dec. 8 | Wed | Phillipsburg, St. Maarten | 8:00 AM | 6:00 PM |
| Dec. 9 | Thu | Road Town, Tortola | 7:00 AM | 4:00 PM |
| Dec. 10 | Fri | Day at Sea | | |
| Dec. 11 | Sat | Half Moon Cay, Bahamas | 8:00 AM | 4:00 PM |
| Dec. 12 | Sun | Ft. Lauderdale, Florida | 8:00 AM | |



Holland America Line
A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE®

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY®

1307 Powers Ferry Road
Marietta, GA 30067-5409
(770) 952-8300
(800) 707-1634
(770) 916-1425 Fax
e-mail: groups@tcacruise.com

*Call Toll Free* (888) 833-4339
*or visit our website*
*WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM*
*for The Nation Cruise Information Kit*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# This Week **Online**

**www.thenation.com**

ELECTION 2004 SPECIAL COVERAGE

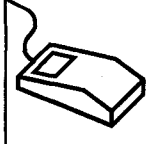
Check out *The Nation* online during the week of the DNC convention in Boston, July 26 to 29, for a host of engaging and illuminating special features—updated many times each day

### Special Convention Features

- Daily weblogs from Katrina vanden Heuvel, David Corn, John Nichols and others.
- Exclusive online commentary from Victor Navasky, Eric Alterman, Jennifer Berkshire, Patricia J. Williams, William Greider and more.
- *RadioNation* audio updates from both inside and outside the convention hall. Hosted by Marc Cooper, the daily reports will cover what the major media is missing, giving listeners the highlights and lowlights of the week.
- Progressive events listings—from protests to film screenings to panels to parties.
- *Nation* History Selections, drawn from the magazine's 137-year digital archive.

### Online Features

- ActNow! weblog, detailing grassroots campaigns nationwide during and after the conventions.
- "Column Left," by nationally syndicated columnist Robert Scheer.
- "Take Action Now," which allows you to fire off informed letters of protest—or support—to your elected representatives.



Print subscribers get free access to the entire text of *The Nation* on our web site. For details, point your web browser to **thenation.com/access** today.


COMMENT

# *Letter from Ground Zero*

*(Continued From Page 12)*

memos, the Administration was unilaterally asserting a profound change in the permanent structure of US law.

Such was the legal landscape as the Supreme Court faced its second major encounter, in the detention cases, with the man it had made President almost four years before. A question even larger than the legal ones was on the table. The Administration had come to power through an abuse of the lawful authority of the Court. Would there now be any limit to that Administration's own legal abuses? In the period of the Iraq war, other checks and balances provided in the constitutional system had failed: Congress surrendered its war power to the President, and the press, taken as a whole, had become a cheering section for the war.

In its decisions, the Court delivered a firm rebuke to the Administration's imperial conception of the law. It required detainees to have some chance to show their innocence in a judicial forum. Several sentences from the opinions jumped immediately from the legal documents into the newspapers and history, among them Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's declaration that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president when it comes to the rights of the nation's citizens." Especially notable was the opinion of Justice Antonin Scalia, thought by some to be the Court's most conservative member. In Scalia's opinion, the majority gave the executive too much leeway in the case of Yaser Hamdi, a US citizen captured on the battlefield in Afghanistan. The Court, he said, should not have ordered up some vague, yet-to-be determined habeas-like proceeding in lower courts for Hamdi. Instead, it should either have demanded that the Administration charge him with treason, as the Constitution provides, or let him go.

But more important than the substance of the decisions and the opinions was the fact of a clear, strong, effective rebuff on the otherwise unconstrained growth of presidential power. That this came from the Court that had put Bush in office in the first place added great weight to the decision. The Justices seemed to be saying, "We meant to make you President, not king."

Would it be too much to hope that in this decision, a signal has been given that the seeming tacit coordination among Republicans in all branches of government put on display in *Bush v. Gore* has weakened; that swelling executive power has reached its high tide and now will ebb; that the "conservative" drive to create imperial law, or lawlessness, has run up against a bedrock of republican principle that knows no party name and is honored by the conservatives themselves?

Such a conclusion is no doubt premature. At least one more remedy is needed if the relationship between democracy and law, knocked askew by *Bush v. Gore*, is to be righted. The body that was silenced in that decision—the American electorate—must deliver its verdict on the vision of a lawless world proposed to it by George W. Bush. ■

*Jonathan Schell, the Harold Willens Peace Fellow at the Nation Institute, is the author, most recently, of* A Hole in the World.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

# Living to Tell the Tale

STANLEY I. KUTLER

**MY LIFE.**
By Bill Clinton.
Knopf. 957 pp. $35.

Former Presidents have a difficult, even awkward, role. They cope in different ways, but if the past half-century is any guide, we can be certain of one thing: They write their memoirs. Usually, these are variants of campaign biographies, only now their campaign is for History. Ex-Presidents battle to define their legacy, and their memoirs are the opening salvo.

The accounts compiled by Lyndon Johnson, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush have little value as historical sources. They are relentlessly celebratory, merely chronicling successes. Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower at least sporadically offered revelations, with occasional introspective backward glances. But leave it to Richard Nixon to offer the most interesting, useful account. Nixon, being Nixon, could not help but reveal himself, often in spite of himself. For example, describing John Dean's devastating Senate testimony in June 1973, Nixon wrote: "Dean's account of the crucial March 21 meeting was more accurate than my own had been. I did not see it then, but in the end it would make less difference that I was not as involved as Dean had alleged than that I was not as uninvolved as I had claimed."

Perhaps unsurprisingly, presidential memoirs are usually dull, uninformative and embarrassingly self-congratulatory. Now comes William Jefferson Clinton, one of our best-educated, most intelligent Presidents, a man known to spare few words when discussing himself—or anything. To be sure, his memoir launches his campaign for history. But to dismiss *My Life* as a whiff of grapeshot, as have the instant first reviews, underestimates the man. Most relentlessly try to fit the book into the Age of Oprah, carefully scouring index entries for Monica, Paula and Gennifer, and concluding that Clinton has written a long, dull book, once again squandering his talent.

Give him a break; Clinton has many tales to tell, particularly a rich, sometimes moving account of his years before the public life, fit for future analytical historians and biographers. Clinton, true to form, is enchanting and infuriating, fascinating and perplexing, with some lies and evasions, as well as some truth and revelations; and always accommodating, eager to please. The personal and the political are intertwined. Vintage Clinton.

Clinton is a man who learned to live with secrets, among them alcoholism and abuse in his family. He apparently never met a teacher or professor he did not like or cannot recall; he engaged an extraordinary array of people, from preachers to bootleggers and, yes, women. He has much to say about his wife, including, "I had always loved her very much, but not always very well." His life has been a seamless parade of campaigns, which he remembers exhaustingly and exhaustively, whether it be Boys Nation or a presidential election. He offers an encyclopedic account of his presidency that almost rivals Johnson's numbing rendition of his legislative achievements in the cadences of biblical begats. Yet Clinton always manages to inject a human element.

*My Life* reminds us of the Clinton who enraged some and exasperated others. His account of the questionable pardons at the end of his term is self-servingly selective. Pardons, Clinton tells us, "were for people of modest means who had no way to break through the system." He justifies the Marc Rich pardon by taking cover behind Rich's Republican and Democratic lawyers, when, as Clinton well knows, lawyers work for money and the situation. He does not mention his pardon of his brother; he is also silent on Carlos Vignali, a convicted cocaine dealer, with powerful family and political

*My Life* ***is vintage Clinton: enchanting and infuriating, fascinating and perplexing, revelatory and evasive, and ever eager to please.***

*Stanley I. Kutler is the author of* The Wars of Watergate *(Norton).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties, who makes Rich's case look like small potatoes. Earlier, he says he "disagreed" with President Bush's pardon of Caspar Weinberger but chose not to make an issue of it. The Ex-Presidents Club, after all, does not look kindly on intramural criticism. He does not recall cutting off his first New Hampshire campaign to return to Arkansas to preside over the execution of Rickey Ray Rector, a murderer with an IQ of 64. Nothing more neatly illustrates historian William Berman's pithy description of Clinton as "politically skilled and ideologically ambidextrous."

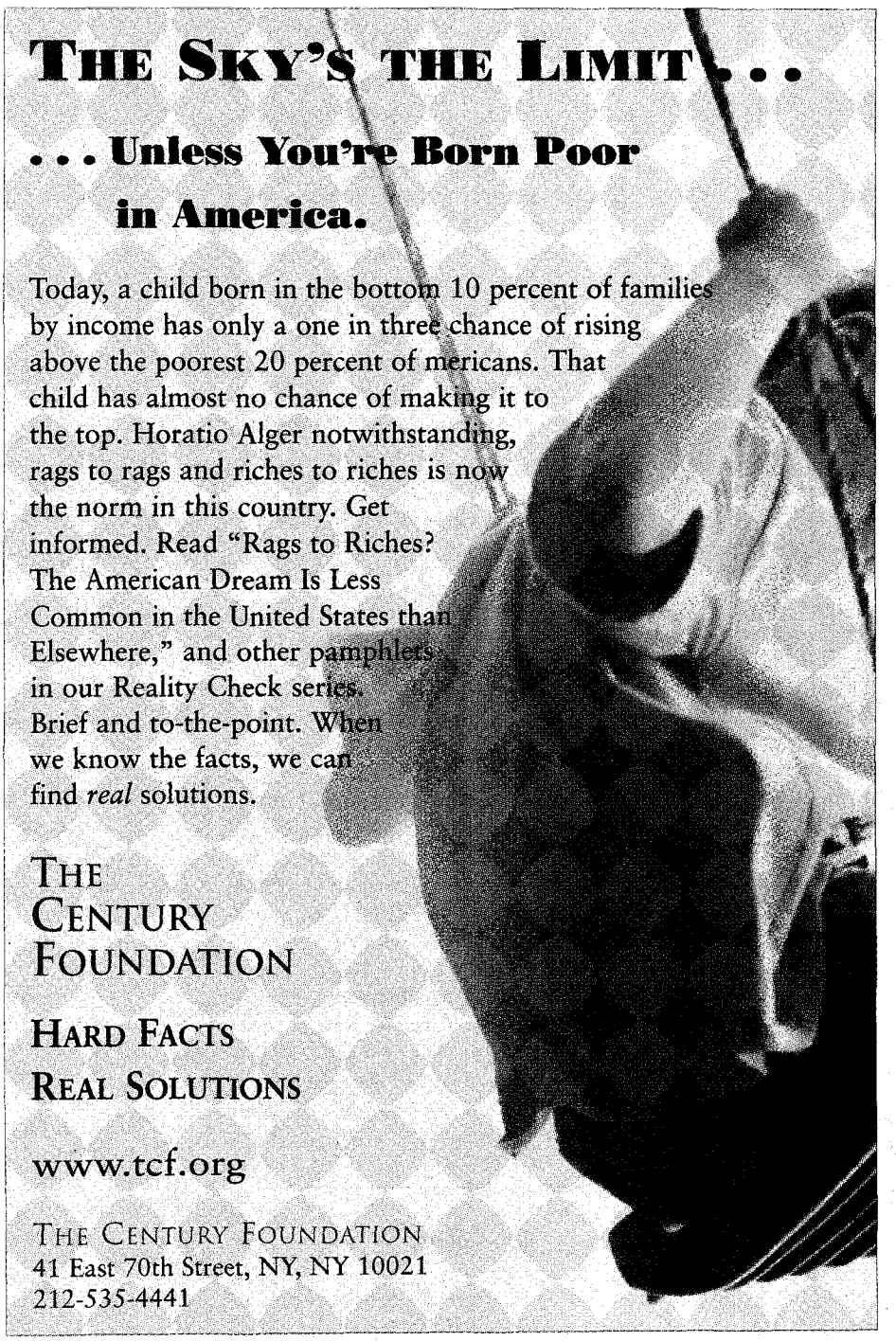
The book is a cascade of the names of those who crossed the stage with him, but they all get a bow, and Clinton utters hardly a critical word. "My Mother had raised me to look for the good in everybody." Kenneth Starr is of course a justifiable exception, for he littered the landscape with indictments, false confessions and ruined lives of Clinton's friends who resisted his threats. As for the "vituperative" Henry Hyde, Clinton "was sure there must be a Dr. Jekyll in there somewhere, but I was having a hard time finding him." Dick Morris gets a free ride—"triangulation" is never mentioned. Bob Dole almost makes it into the American Pantheon; Newt Gingrich is treated as a political genius. Yasir Arafat told Clinton he was a "great man," but the President replied (sharply?), "I am a failure, and you have made me one." And someday he intends to apologize to Webb Hubbell for failing to pardon him.

Perhaps the most disappointing omission is Clinton's failure to discuss his role—or rather, lack of it—in the 2000 campaign. For Clinton, it must have been like a cold-turkey withdrawal cure from nearly a lifetime habit. It is amazing that during the Bush-Gore debates, the impeachment issue was never raised. Perhaps a stand would have made Gore uncomfortable, and Bush would not dare criticize his party. But then, the debates are not intended to be tough. Gore might have tapped into Clinton's still-powerful support, but he failed to use the President, and probably at some cost. Can it be that Clinton has no thoughts on this? He owes Gore nothing now; but he does owe us some explanation. Was there no role for Clinton, that master politician and campaigner?

Clinton's accomplishments compare favorably with those of other Presidents of the past half-century; unfortunately, however, his shortcomings were more spectacular than most. And history is prone to preserve and magnify the failures. Perhaps his real achievement was a negative, for as he noted: "I had the good fortune to stand against...the forces of reaction and division." His failure on healthcare severely impaired his future credibility. The plan devised by his wife and her team failed to consider the needs and interests of the varied parties, including health professionals and the insurance business. In classic Washington terms, the plan was "dead on arrival."

Clinton's enemies fought him with righteous fervor and mean spirit; his presumptive allies on the left often found themselves uncomfortable with his "dynamic centrism." The irony is that Clinton has been defined by his enemies and detractors, yet few Presidents have left the White House with such high approval ratings by the public. That popularity, by all accounts, persists. Why? Certainly, unlike Reagan, he has not had a servile media, determined to give him a free ride.

Jacob Weisberg has written that Clinton had been more "faithful to his word than any other chief executive in recent memory," yet voters continued to mistrust him, in part because "the media keeps telling them not to trust him." The media have been Clinton's most formidable nemesis. Perhaps it began with his equivocations concerning his draft status, his inability to inhale and his relations with Gennifer Flowers. Run-



THE SKY'S THE LIMIT...
...Unless You're Born Poor in America.
Today, a child born in the bottom 10 percent of families by income has only a one in three chance of rising above the poorest 20 percent of mericans. That child has almost no chance of making it to the top. Horatio Alger notwithstanding, rags to rags and riches to riches is now the norm in this country. Get informed. Read "Rags to Riches? The American Dream Is Less Common in the United States than Elsewhere," and other pamphlets in our Reality Check series. Brief and to-the-point. When we know the facts, we can find real solutions.
THE CENTURY FOUNDATION
HARD FACTS
REAL SOLUTIONS
www.tcf.org
THE CENTURY FOUNDATION
41 East 70th Street, NY, NY 10021
212-535-4441


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ning on their own track, with their own purposes, the media nevertheless were handmaidens to those who considered his election and tenure illegitimate. They give the impression that Ross Perot unintentionally made him President, as he siphoned off votes from the Bush base.

The Slick Willie Times was inaugurated along with Clinton. The usual right-wing suspects thrived with criticism ranging from the scurrilous to the obscene. The *Wall Street Journal* offered a pathological disconnect between the netherworld of its editorial-page judgments of the President and the professionalism of its news columns. Howell Raines's *New York Times* editorial page turned in a similar direction, encouraging a corps of reporters eager to be Woodstein wannabes. The suffix "gate" offered a shorthand trivialization of Watergate, as the media, dazzled by Watergate and O.J. Simpson, casually segued from an alleged haircut on the Los Angeles airport runway to "Travelgate," Vince Foster's "alleged" suicide and other mercifully forgotten trivialities. The story was always Clinton—all Clinton. Finally, the *Times* thought it had Watergate all over again with something called Whitewater. Nothing ever developed to substantiate the endless array of wild criminal charges against the Clintons. But the charges spawned Starr and a legal juggernaut to drive Clinton from office. His most important tale, the basis for his history and legacy, is of the conspiracy—that's the only possible word—to destroy, not just defeat, him. After special prosecutor Robert Fiske, a Republican, determined that the Whitewater story had no relation to the President or his wife, a panel of federal judges, appointed by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, dismissed Fiske and appointed Starr in his place. Starr revived and expanded the investigation; "it was," Clinton writes, "about whatever Ken Starr could dig up on anybody in Arkansas or my administration." Clinton found his Javert.

Clinton's enemies knew they probably could not force his removal, yet they targeted his most vulnerable point—his personal behavior. The Starr report and its descriptions of his behavior with Monica Lewinsky were designed to humiliate the President and force his resignation. Censure never was an option for his enemies, for it meant his continuation in power. Tom DeLay bluntly called for Clinton's resignation. After his committee voted to impeach Clinton, Henry Hyde publicly pleaded with the President to simplify matters and step down. Resignation was easier and had the virtue of being risk-free. Unfortunately for his enemies, and fortunately for our consti-

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLER

The Right-Wing Propaganda Machine and How It Distorts the Truth

REVISED AND UPDATED

BIG LIES

JOE CONASON

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLER—NOW IN PAPERBACK

All Democrats are limousine liberals.

LIE

Operation in Iraq: Mission accomplished.

LIE

George W. Bush is a compassionate conservative.

BIG LIE

**"*Big Lies* is must reading for anyone who wants to understand America today."**
—Paul Krugman

**"A comprehensive, well-researched indictment of a bunch of nasty people who really deserve it."**
—Molly Ivins

St. Martin's Griffin

Available Wherever Books are Sold
www.stmartins.com

THOMAS DUNNE BOOKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tutional system, however, Clinton proved tougher. A *Wall Street Journal* reporter asked if he had considered resigning: "Never...I'm just going to keep showing up for work." A resignation, forced by partisan enemies, would have had profound implications for the system.

Failing to get Clinton to leave on his own, the Republicans resorted to impeachment. The House proceedings were transparently partisan, and the Senate trial was nothing more than a bizarre charade, for when the trial began, Clinton had his highest approval ratings. Much to the Republicans' dismay, he delivered his State of the Union address as scheduled, as though nothing were amiss. After all, he never doubted that he was President.

Impeachment is Clinton's Scarlet Word. He likely will be best remembered as the first elected President to be impeached. He is deservedly bitter, but his bravado—that it is a "badge of honor"—fails to consider his best defense. Only a forceful recognition that the impeachment was a farce from the outset might protect his reputation. The tack taken by Senator Ted Stevens, that most loyal of Republicans, might offer Clinton a beginning. Stevens cast one of those curious, bifurcated votes, clearly to appease the more fanatical partisans, as he voted to convict the President on one charge and acquit him on the other. But Stevens had no illusions. For him the world was still a dangerous place, and he said he would not support removal if he thought his vote would be decisive. With striking candor, Stevens said that Clinton had "not brought that level of danger to the nation which...is necessary to justify such an action." Stevens correctly gauged the national mood; the trial simply was not serious.

The impeachment proceedings left Clinton more popular than ever. History had meant nothing to his pursuers, despite wrapping themselves in the Constitution as if it were a fig leaf. But now our choices seem plain: Either impeachment will be used with promiscuity as a partisan weapon, or it will be moribund once again. Sad business, for either approach will be bad for the American constitutional system.

Clinton's story very much reflects the man we know. We never had such a public President and presidency. He was so much in our eye, and not always by his choice or by ours. He was the ultimate media President. He embodied "the government," and he was the rallying point both for those with hope and those with anger. You could not be indifferent to him. If he was the focus of your grievances, he consumed you; many of his defenders loved him largely for the enemies he had created.

Four years after he left the White House, Clinton's enemies continue their voodoo rituals, although they now seem so trivial. Meanwhile Clinton is likened to an international rock star, although Bono may have done more to improve the world over the past four years. Ex-Presidents can have a useful place. One example is Theodore Roosevelt, who was 51 when he left the presidency (Clinton was 55). TR went to Africa, returned home and then was willing to risk his accumulated political capital. You can't take it with you. Remarkably, in 1912 TR ran the most radical presidential campaign in our history. Clinton, of course, is constitutionally barred from another term. But in the last decade of his life, Roosevelt spoke out forthrightly on myriad progressive civil, social and economic concerns; he boldly criticized Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy; and he opposed Wilson's 1918 Sedition Act. He did not chase money for his monument; his ideas and actions offered his enduring contribution. He did not walk softly. *Et tu*, Bill Clinton? ■

# Laughter in the Dark

BORIS FISHMAN

**MONUMENTAL PROPAGANDA.** By Vladimir Voinovich. Knopf. 365 pp. $25.

Stalin has had a rough time at the hands of Russian novelists in recent years. Though polls continue to show he is venerated by nearly half of his countrymen, the Russian writer Vladimir Sorokin, in his 1999 novel *Blue Lard*, coupled him—Stalin out front—with the whistleblower who denounced his personality cult, Nikita Khrushchev, a flourish that earned Sorokin a court date on charges of distributing pornography. Now comes *Monumental Propaganda*, the latest work from renowned émigré satirist Vladimir Voinovich. His Stalin is made of iron, and his erection atop a pedestal in the provincial city of Dolgov in the lean years following World War II, thanks in large part to the exertions of a fanatical disciple, Aglaya Stepanovna Revkina, is the engine for Voinovich's book. Voinovich tastefully keeps his Stalin from coming to life, but that doesn't prevent the Wise Leader from introducing his devoted Aglaya, who takes the statue into her home after Khrushchev discredits her idol, to the joys of spontaneous ejaculation. The novel's climax—which takes place in the 1990s, after Aglaya has endured decades of political vicissitude about Stalin's legacy—is a fire-and-brimstone eruption caused by an explosive device detonated by a local bombmaker, which pins Aglaya below her charge, where she "received him with every inch of her spread-eagled body."

Voinovich is a connoisseur of ironies and transgressions. Born in 1932 in Stalinabad, the capital of the Soviet Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, which had recently been renamed in honor of the Soviet dictator, he was 3 when his father was hauled away to a labor camp. Initially Voinovich was a rising star in the Soviet literary establishment, composing the lyrics to a song that became an anthem for Soviet cosmonauts and another ("I Believe, Friends") that Khrushchev once sang in Red Square. But Voinovich's stock plummeted in the late 1960s, when part of his satirical novel *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*—about a simple-minded Red Army recruit who unwittingly exposes Soviet hypocrisy and corruption—was published abroad, to official displeasure at home. When Voinovich defended Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1974, he was evicted from the Writers' Union and, soon thereafter, nearly thrown out of his apartment, a demotion he satirized in a novel, *The Ivankiad, Or the Tale of the Writer Voinovich's Installation in His New Apartment.*

By 1980, Voinovich's provocations had become intolerable, and he was exiled. He did not go quietly. When Leonid Brezhnev stripped Voinovich of his Soviet citizenship for political insubordination the following year, Voinovich responded with a decree of his own: "Mr. Brezhnev," he wrote, "you have highly overestimated my activities. I did not undermine the prestige of the Soviet government. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet leadership and your own efforts, the Soviet government has no prestige. Therefore, to do justice, you should deprive yourself of citizenship."

Though Voinovich has published a dozen novels and works of nonfiction, some of

*Boris Fishman is the editor of* Wild East: Stories From the Last Frontier *(Random House). He is on the staff of* The New Yorker.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

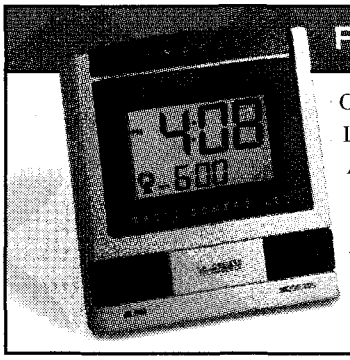
# For the best time of your life

***Technology creates greatest advancement in time keeping since the quartz movement...*** and lets everyone benefit from United States Government innovation. With the Atomic Digital Watch by La Crosse Technology, all of us have the opportunity to take advantage of our tax dollars at work, in a way that will positively impact our daily lives.

**How can a watch possibly create such an opportunity?** The U.S. Government National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) Time and Frequency Division, a division of the U.S. Department of Commerce, maintains the cesium Atomic Clock, a clock that is accurate to within one second in a million years, to monitor and maintain the official U.S. time standard. In Colorado our Government relies on the cesium Atomic Clock to create a national time standard to provide the most precise and accurate measure of time. The cesium clock drives a low frequency radio signal, known as the WWVB signal, which is transmitted at 60 kHz to your location at the speed of light.

**The Atomic Digital Watch** has a built-in receiver that automatically tunes in to the WWVB signal transmitted to the NIST stations on a daily basis, so that you can have the most accurate time in the world on your wrist! Imagine never having to worry about setting the time on your watch. Turn the watch on, select your time zone and the watch will set itself overnight. This watch will also automatically adjust for Daylight Saving Time (DST) and leap year. There is also a DST disabling feature if you live in Arizona or Indiana. With features that include a day/date calendar, 12/24 hour mode choice, signal reception indicator, adjustable band and 3-volt lithium battery, this watch is a great gift for anyone who needs to know the right time, all the time.

**An unbelievably new low price.**
The Atomic Watch by La Crosse Technology is now available at a new low price. Originally $69.95, one of the most technologically advanced watches in the world is now available for the unbelievably low price of $39.95! Innovative Home Products home trial allows you to try the Atomic Digital Watch for 30 days risk-free. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price.



**FREE WITH PURCHASE!**

Order today and receive, FREE OF CHARGE, La Crosse Technology's Atomic Digital Alarm Clock with a retail value of $29.95!

- Atomic radio-controlled time
- Automatically sets time
- Time alarm with snooze
- Backlight for easy viewing

**CALL NOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS INCREDIBLE OFFER!**

**Atomic Digital Watch**
~~$69.99~~ **$39.95** + S&H

**Atomic Digital Alarm Clock**
~~$29.99~~ **FREE** + S&H

***A $99 value for only $39.95!!***

*Promotional Code ADW-Z057*
*Please mention this when you call.*

**866-607-8738**

*To order by mail, please call for details.*

**INNOVATIVE HOME PRODUCTS**

Call toll-free 24 hours a day **866-607-8738**

DISCOVER NOVUS VISA MasterCard

www.InnovativeHomeProducts.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

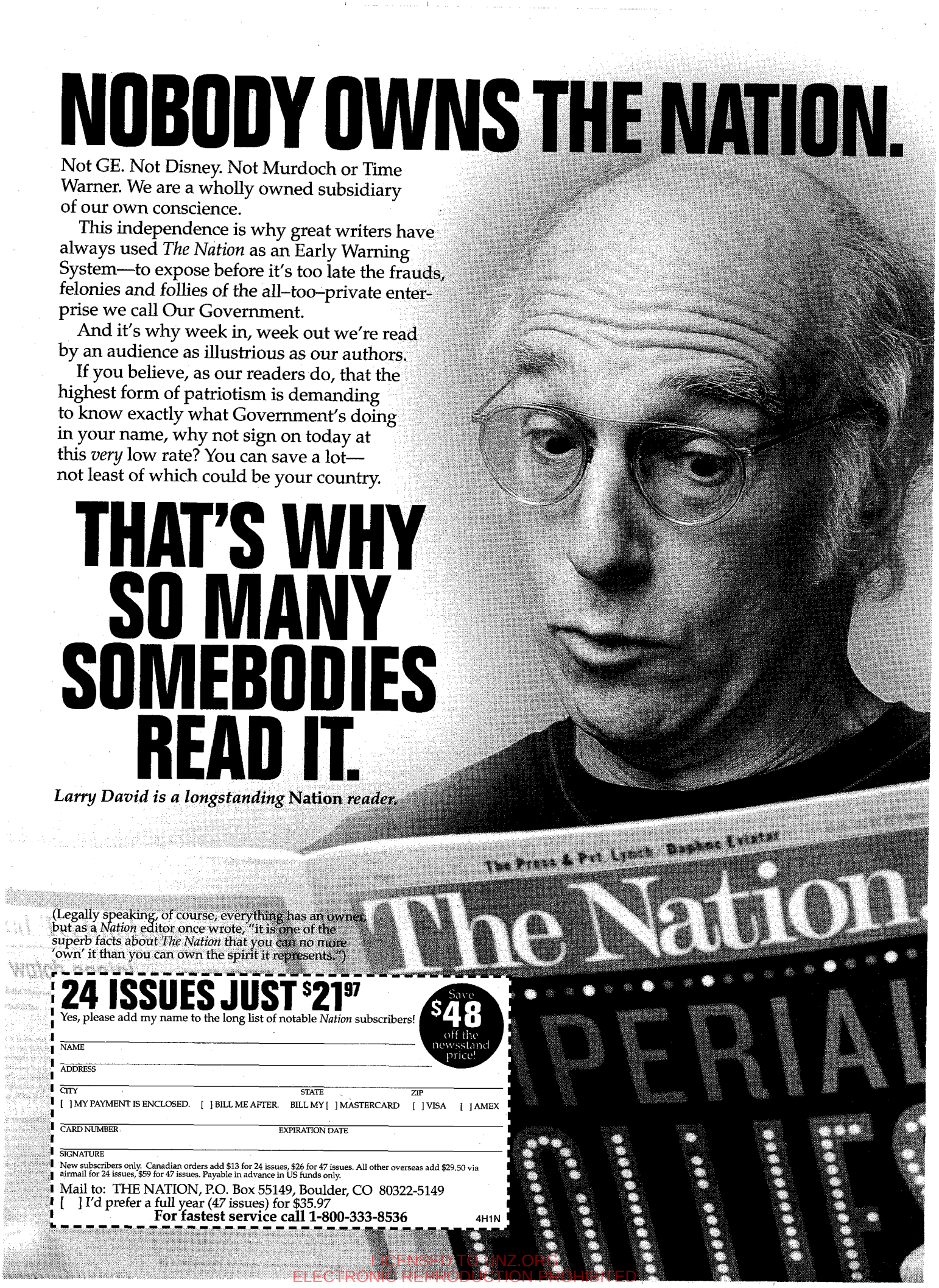
This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all-too-private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

# THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.

***Larry David is a longstanding* Nation *reader.***




(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a *Nation* editor once wrote, "it is one of the superb facts about *The Nation* that you can no more 'own' it than you can own the spirit it represents.")

## 24 ISSUES JUST $21.97

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian orders add $13 for 24 issues, $26 for 47 issues. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail for 24 issues, $59 for 47 issues. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149

[ ] I'd prefer a full year (47 issues) for $35.97

**For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536** 4H1N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them masterpieces of satire, his stature has never quite matched his talent. The method itself may be to blame. There was a common misperception of his writing: Things couldn't really be that bad if he was laughing so hard. And because his rebuke of Soviet power took the form of droll wit that ruefully mocked the Soviet way of life instead of the more overt political denunciations of books like *The Gulag Archipelago*, his fiction never delivered the simple ideological satisfactions of much dissident literature, whose politics was often surer than its craft. Voinovich's métier as a miniaturist—he is a master chronicler of Everyman: the petty bureaucrat, the decommissioned soldier, the lonely housewife, the neighborhood drunk—didn't help, either. There are few monumental heroes in his work, and few monumental villains. Most, if not all, of his characters are deeply flawed, but they are incompetent or comically self-important rather than malicious or cruel. Such moderation of scale rarely took front stage in the titanic struggle against the Evil Empire.

In *Monumental Propaganda*, Voinovich has created a slightly different protagonist, though in selecting a senior citizen who is an unreformed Stalinist, he has hardly made life any easier for his publicists. (Who knows, though: In a recent editorial titled "Nyet to Barbie," the *New York Times* gushed that Russians "are tired of the beauty cult" imported from the West, "tired of the would-be Barbies," and that being "inhumanly svelte" is no longer "every Russian's idea of progress.") The problem with Aglaya Revkina isn't her age but her unbending faith. The doubtless Stalinist whose commitment remains unslaked fifty years after Stalin's exposure as a monstrous tyrant is a psychological marvel, indeed, but also a one-dimensional creature. It's not that the totalitarian psyche is unimaginable to a mind as liberal and enlightened as Voinovich's. He gets into her head just fine; it's just that there isn't much there. That was the trouble if you signed up for the personality cult—there wasn't much room for ambivalence. Either you were in—all the way, all the time, in precise imitation of the chorus from above—or you were in the camps.

Voinovich never applies much stress to Aglaya's ideological armor, and her convictions remain intact until the end and her apocalyptic coitus with the Great Leader. Too bad, because it's precisely during those fleeting moments when Aglaya momentarily second-guesses herself, or springs from the claustrophobic social conventions imposed by the Soviet state (there is a delectably Bulgakovian moment when Aglaya imagines herself gliding naked along rooftops), that the narrative picks up. Voinovich himself eventually seems to tire of Aglaya, and she is a rarer presence in the second half of the novel, where Voinovich spends more time on the secondary characters, a group that perhaps should have included Aglaya.

It is in some of these indelible portraits—particularly of Shubkin, a faithful Leninist whose devotion to theoretical Communism remains unbroken after time in a labor camp—that Voinovich demonstrates the fine detail and subtlety of a surpassing craftsman. Shubkin, who publishes a candid memoir of his incarceration, initially seems sympathetic, an ideological literalist hoodwinked by Communism's promises of justice and equality. The book's publication abroad leads to a KGB interrogation, as well as notoriety in the West. But at the same time that Shubkin proudly listens to himself on the BBC, he savages it as a tool of Western propaganda. And his persecution at the hands of the KGB drains as little of his belief in Communist dogma as his time in the camps.

In Shubkin, Voinovich has drawn an intricate character who is neither party hack nor dissident/democrat but rather an unthinking ideologue shaped by external forces: His faith survives because he unquestioningly retains the ideology drummed into him in his youth, and his dissent is as much the work of the local KGB office, eager to justify its existence by evidence of lurking enemies, as of Shubkin himself. Voinovich defies the easy polarities that so often impair the way Westerners see Russia. Soviets have always been more complicated than the categories Americans have devised for them—Communists or dissidents/democrats, without much in between. Shubkin is both, and neither.

*Monumental Propaganda* is Voinovich's first full-length novel in fifteen years, which is also roughly the amount of time since the demise of Soviet Communism. When he was asked in the early 1990s if he was worried about remaining current, Voinovich said: "Before, this country was a madhouse, but it was an organized madhouse. Now, it's a disorganized madhouse. The insane are allowed to do whatever they want, so in this sense everything is much funnier than before. There is plenty to write about."

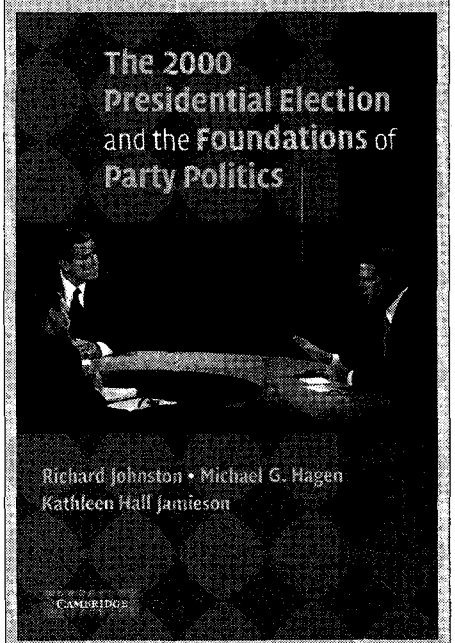
Indeed, but Communism's fanatically maintained ideology, the unconditional compliance it required from its adherents and its fantastic perversion at the hands of its apparat made it an ideal subject for satire, which stung, in part, precisely because it was prohibited. In the New Russia, there is no ideology to pervert. These days, the

Spread the Word
Women Count
Get Out The Vote!*
* Only 22% of single women voted in the 2000 election
The Pedro®
Two-sided Ceramic Pedicure Stone for softer, smoother feet year round
ECKERD
Walgreens
TWEEZERMAN®
Striving to Promote Responsible Capitalism
For a store near you call 1-888-887-5825 or visit tweezerman.com


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMBRIDGE

DISCOVER WHY CAMPAIGNS *DO* MATTER!


The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics
Richard Johnston • Michael G. Hagen
Kathleen Hall Jamieson
CAMBRIDGE

As the 2004 election approaches, campaigns suddenly seem to matter, as do questions about the electoral process in the aftermath of the 2000 presidential election. In *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics* distinguished authors Johnston, Hagen and Jamieson examine the U.S. electoral process as an integrated event spanning a full year, drawing upon the Annenberg 2000 Election Study as well as candidate appearances, news coverage, and campaign advertising.

$55.00: Hardback: 0-521-81389-1: 216pp
$19.99: Paperback: 0-521-89078-0

www.cambridge.org CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

country subsists on an unsavory gruel of authoritarian democracy and elephant-eat-mouse capitalism, a rather thin national raison d'être that boasts as many detractors as supporters.

Satire is blasphemy upon the sacred, and there is nothing sacred in the New Russia, nothing invested with sufficient ideological heft to merit pillorying. A superficial life makes for insubstantial satire, after all. Russia is largely uninterested in engaging in a national reckoning with the staggering fraud of the Communist experiment and the murderous treachery of Stalin's reign. (That's why Voinovich's impish but hardly heretical consideration of the Stalin years actually feels transgressive.) It lives obliviously between a disavowed past and an unformed future.

In *Monumental Propaganda*, as New Russia's political irredentists scheme to return Stalin to the pedestal in Dolgov Square, Voinovich obliquely acknowledges the country's aimlessness, its yearning for idols: "The people had no doubt that pretty soon somebody was bound to be hoisted up there. But who? No answer was forthcoming to that question, but the plot of ground around the pedestal was tended and planted with marguerites and the low openwork fence was freshly painted."

The surrealism of writers like Victor Pelevin and Vladimir Sorokin is perhaps a sturdier gallows than satire for the New Russia. It's no accident that they've produced the best fiction about the country in the past fifteen years. The stylistic mastery and pyrotechnics of the last third of Voinovich's novel, which takes place in the 1990s—there is an essentially meaningless tangle of plot lines, replete with commercial schemes, revenge killings and false piety, though the closing explosion is a clever comeuppance for the sins of Russia's gangster capitalism—fails to conceal the superficiality of his material.

Repeatedly, it's Voinovich's belly-busting comic genius that saves the story. There are enough hilarious one-liners in *Monumental Propaganda* to make up for seven decades of Soviet earnestness: There is the nautical enthusiast Alexei Mikhailovich Makarov, *a k a* the Admiral, whose "postgraduate dissertation on problems of linguistics...was so brilliant that at first they wanted to award him a doctorate for it, but then they gave him five years in exile instead"; the casual anti-Semitism of the grannies who pass time gossiping outside Aglaya's apartment building, graciously extending Granny Bauman, a Jewish fellow gossip, "temporary forgiveness for the crucifixion of Christ and the matzos made with the blood of Christian infants"; and the chasteness of a Soviet life that subordinated emotion to ideology. ("Aglaya had never even heard the word 'sex,' and although [would-be suitor] Shaleiko had heard it, he thought it meant 'six' in German.")

The ingenious humor is *Monumental Propaganda*'s chief distinction, along with its exacting detail. Voinovich isn't content with the subtle symbolism of the orphaned pedestal in Dolgov Square; he must add that the surrounding plot is planted with marguerites and the low openwork fence has a new paint job. The evocatively specific detail steeps the reader in the geography of that square. Elsewhere, nonsmokers will think twice after the deliciously drawn-out cigarette-lighting ritual of an otherwise undistinguished party functionary: "Nechitailo took a generous pinch of [tobacco] out of the pouch, scattered it evenly along his curved trough, moistened the edge of the paper with spittle and chewed it with his front teeth to make it stick better, twisted together a tightly packed roll-up as thick as his thumb and took out of his pocket a cigarette lighter made from a rifle cartridge with a little wheel at the side." And the author's sartorially obsessed delight in period detail—"He was dressed in the already outmoded fashion of the rural bosses of those times: a diagonal-weave Stalin field jacket with external pockets and box calf boots. He smelled of Chipre eau de cologne, shoe polish, sweat and agricultural activity"—is of a rarely encountered precision. (Andrew Bromfield, a seasoned translator, does Voinovich's prose an inimitable service in English; indeed, the regular reader of his translations begins to wonder when we might see a novel from Bromfield himself.) Several recent short-story collections by Russian émigrés such as Lara Vapnyar and David Bezmozgis have made quite a commotion on the American literary scene, but it takes only a cursory glance at the work of someone like Voinovich to distinguish between the work of a master and that of a promising, but uncertain, beginner. Voinovich draws with a depth and feeling that the comparatively superficial exertions of the New Russian novelists simply fail to match. They are the New Russia to his Soviet Union.

But there are some things even mastery can't buy. At the close of the novel, the narrator asks the Admiral, the novel's voice of truth and reason, who might deliver Russia from its ills.

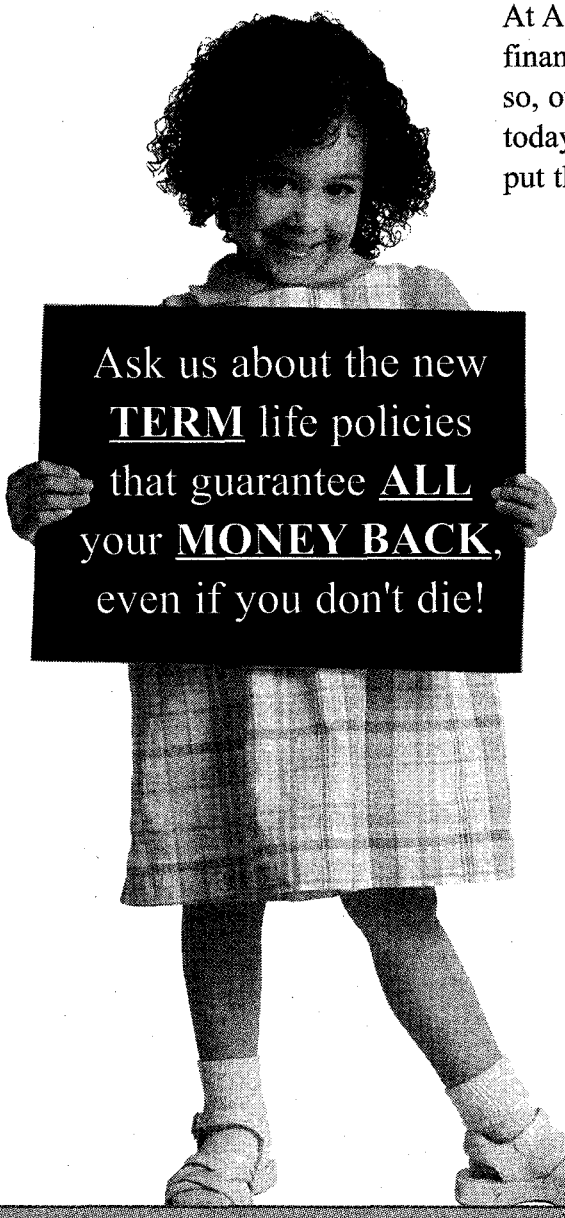
"The [ideology] he'll invent for us won't be very much different from the previous one, because there really aren't that many variations," the Admiral replies. "Its basis will be the dream of equal happiness for all."

"But everybody already knows that's an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Save up to 70% on Your Life Insurance!

*Why pay more than you have to?*




At AccuQuote, we help you compare the price, features, and financial strength of hundreds of life insurance products. By doing so, our clients typically save up to 70%. One easy 5-minute call today and you'll see why tens of thousands of people like you have put their trust in AccuQuote to take care of their life insurance.

**10-Year Level Premium Life Insurance Policy**
**Guaranteed Monthly Premiums ***
male, preferred best (non-tobacco user)

| AGE | Coverage Amount | |
|---|---|---|
| | $ 500,000 | $ 1,000,000 |
| 40 | $ 19.58 | $ 33.93 |
| 45 | $ 32.38 | $ 55.68 |
| 50 | $ 46.55 | $ 87.87 |
| 55 | $ 80.91 | $ 147.90 |
| 60 | $ 130.07 | $ 247.08 |

20 and 30 year plans are also available. Female rates are lower. Call for quote.

Stop throwing your money away!

## Call us now at

# 1-800-913-2141

or visit us at **www.accuquote.com**
and get your coverage started today!

ACCUQUOTE®
*Saving You Money For Life*
www.accuquote.com

*"Savings are dramatic"* - USA Today

*"very easy to use"* - Wall Street Journal

*"Best of the Web"* - Forbes (2003)

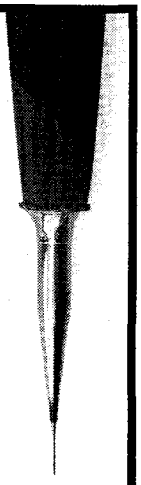
*"specializes in term-life policies"* - TIME Magazine

* GTO 10 Policy Form LBT-100 Series issued by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company. Rates shown are for a healthy, non-nicotine Preferred Best Rate Class. Two-year suicide and contestability provisions apply (1 year in some states). Premiums shown are monthly and include a $50 annual policy fee. Rates are current as of 11/01/03 and are subject to change Rates after guaranteed level premium period increase annually to age 95. Minimum coverage amount is $100,000. Products and features subject to state availability.
NT-04-04 LM0310-0565

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**How real was your favorite spy?**

Frederick P. Hitz, former inspector general of the CIA, compares the classics of spy literature to the stark realities of the actual spy world in his fascinating book,



**THE GREAT GAME**

**"A lucid overview of 20th-century espionage** that says more about the great game as it was played by Americans and their allies and adversaries than just about anything else ever published." —Charles McCarry, *Wash. Post*

**"A rich [and] entertaining introduction to the shadowy world of spy vs. spy** ...He turns up some astonishing tales...among them one that alone is worth the price of the book...It's all here. A perfect companion for fans of John le Carré" —*Kirkus Reviews*

**"Lively and imaginative" says *The New York Times.*** —Jeff Stein

**"A good read and good fun** ...For those who seek a knowledge of the spy game that goes beyond spy literature...Hitz provides insights into espionage unlikely to be obtained elsewhere" James Schlesinger, *former secretary of defense and former director of the CIA*

*Hitz' list of the top 10 espionage novels of all time is at aaknopf.com*

**Published by Knopf**

impossible dream," the narrator objects.

"Yes," the Admiral says. "But individual human beings, when gathered together, are transformed into the people. And the people is a naïve creature, willing to be deceived a thousand times over and then believe again for the thousand and first time."

A century and a half ago, Voinovich's literary forefather, Nikolai Gogol, asked a similar question: "Russia, are you not speeding along like a fiery and matchless troika?...You strain your chests of bronze and, with your hooves barely skimming the earth, you are transformed into arrows, into straight lines winging through the air, and on you rush under divine inspiration.... Russia, where are you flying? Answer me! There is no answer."

On his way out of Dolgov, Voinovich's narrator casts a final glance at the empty pedestal in Dolgov Square: "Fashioned out of the foggy vapor and my no-doubt-fevered imagination, a figure took shape. Something human in form. It watched me as I drove away, grinning and waving with its raised right hand." What that figure—the future way—is, Voinovich still doesn't know. ■

MUSIC

# His Majesty

JODY ROSEN

**PRINCE**

This past February's forty-sixth annual Grammy Awards ceremony began with a surprise performance by the pop virtuoso who is once again calling himself Prince. The occasion was the twentieth anniversary of the career-making album and film *Purple Rain*, and it was strange to see Prince thrust into the role of elder statesman—he is 46 years old and looks about 22. At the Grammys, his svelte 5'2" frame was packed into one of the form-fitting toreador-pimp outfits that he has been wearing for a couple of decades; he raced through a medley of old hits, looking every bit as sleek as he had in what the National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences has decided was his prime. He whirled and strutted and winked; he sang like a soul balladeer and howled his best rock star banshee wail; he played squalling solos on two different guitars: one a classic Fender Telecaster, the other a pointy purple thing, custom-made in the shape of the unpronounceable glyph—a sort of ankh with a few extra jagged bits attached—to which Prince legally changed his name in 1993. He was joined on stage by an actual 22-year-old, the r&b star Beyoncé, who gamely sang along but seemed overwhelmed by the old-timer's outlandish energy and musicianship. When the medley crashed to a close, Beyoncé stood teetering on a pair of stiletto heels, looking like she needed a medic; Prince peeled off his guitar, threw it to the floor, and glowered out at an audience filled with famous musicians as if to say, *Anyone else want a piece?*

The Grammy appearance kicked off what has been Prince's most high-profile, studiously crowd-pleasing year in a decade. In March he delivered another show-stopping performance and gave a genial speech at his induction to the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame. He launched a world tour focusing on the big hits he had vowed never again to perform, sat for magazine and television interviews, said flattering things about his audience and generally conducted himself like an entertainer on a promotional junket—par for the course for most pop stars but something new for this self-styled genius-recluse, who just a few years earlier had sued his own fanzine for copyright infringement. Then, in April, came the charm campaign's *coup de grâce*: a lean new album, *Musicology*, which, in contrast to his last several records, took dead aim at the pop charts. It entered the Billboard Top 200 at Number 3, Prince's highest-charting release in fifteen years.

If nothing else, this is a major music-business story, a big comeback by a big star who has spent the past ten years baffling his fans and watching his album sales plummet. The trouble began with the infamous name-change, followed by a legal tussle with Warner Bros. records over contractual issues and the ownership of Prince's master recordings. (It was during this imbroglio

*Jody Rosen is the author of* White Christmas: The Story of an American Song *(Scribner).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

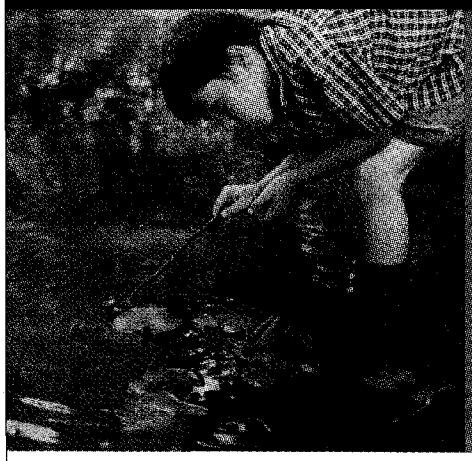
that Prince began painting the word "Slave" on his face—a bit of a stretch, given that his six-album deal was worth close to $100 million.) In 1996 Warners finally agreed to cut Prince loose, freeing him to distribute his own records (largely through his website) and to sit at home, in a shopping-mall-sized recording studio complex in the Minneapolis suburbs, indulging his musical whims, however inspired or harebrained.

The result was a great outpouring of music—some of it sublime, some terrible—that few people heard. Prince has always made wonderful pop records, guided by, and in spite of, his eccentric muse; but in recent years, he's drifted further from pop and deeper into tedium. By the time he released *The Rainbow Children* (2001), a messy, inscrutable theme album about his Jehovah's Witness faith, and followed it up with a rock-star folly straight out of *This Is Spinal Tap*—the four-song, fifty-six-minute instrumental "jazz" epic *N.E.W.S.* (2003)—it seemed reasonable to assume that Prince had stopped making music for anyone other than himself and his most masochistic diehards (perhaps those poor fanzine editors against whom he'd filed suit).

Which is why the taut, radio-friendly *Musicology* has struck so many listeners as a delightful surprise. Just twelve songs and forty-seven minutes long, it's a proper album, not another three hour, triple-CD set like Prince's behemoth *Emancipation* (1996), and it sounds super. It may be the most sharply produced of any record in Prince's catalogue; as usual, the pop-rock tunes, funk workouts and ballads are densely arranged, but every guitar line, harmony vocal and piano chord stands out, in vivid focus. Typical is "Life O' Party," which starts with an a cappella vocal, adds a hammering electronic kick drum and over the course of the song piles on percussion, background vocals, horns, at least five different keyboard lines, rubbery bass guitar, wah-wah, and at the very top of the mix, a triangle, pinging like an elevator bell every four measures. Each part bursts through the stereo speakers with perfect clarity, and they slot together to form a gargantuan groove. As on all of *Musicology*'s songs, Prince plays nearly every instrument.

It's that preposterous one-man-band virtuosity that insures Prince's place in the rock-and-roll pantheon. In terms of sheer musical talent, Prince has no peer. He is both an anomaly in the history of twentieth-century pop music and that history's logical end point—all of the excitement and grandeur and nonsense of rock and roll (and virtually every subgenre) embodied in one preening, doe-eyed, androgynous, biracial, sartorially resplendent, sexually and spiri-

Recognize VALUE



For over 20 years Citizens Funds has been uncovering fundamentally strong companies that are also good corporate citizens. Chances are one or more of our 11 funds may meet your investment needs.

The Citizens Small Cap Value Fund

seeks to *find* and *invest* in under-valued companies that have been overlooked by others. If you're interested in capturing the long-term potential of small-cap stocks and diversifying your portfolio with a value approach, consider the Citizens Small Cap Value Fund. Please call or visit us for a prospectus at:

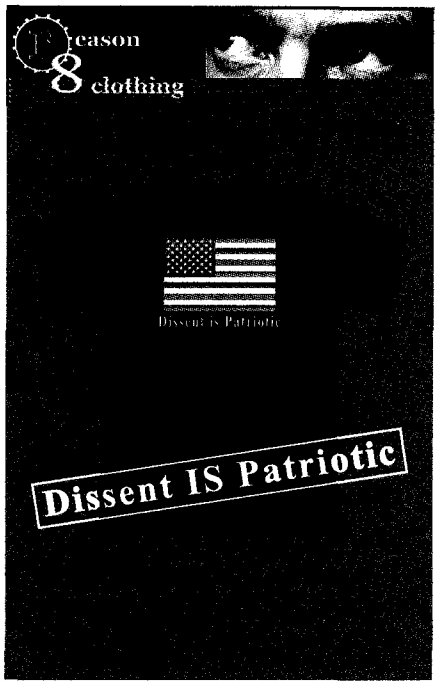
800.223.7010 or www.citizensfunds.com

Investing in smaller companies involves unique risks as there may be: less seasoned management, limited product lines, financing and market share challenges, and shares that trade with more volatility, less frequently or in smaller volumes.

Please consider the investment objectives, risks, charges and expenses of Citizens Funds carefully before investing. For this and other information, please call us for a free prospectus and read it carefully before investing. Distributed by Citizens Securities, Inc., Portsmouth, NH 03801.

CITIZENS | FUNDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




Anybody But BUSH

"Anybody But Bush" t-shirt • item #1006 • sizes S-3X

*Products for Progressives since 1979.*

**Northern Sun Merchandising**

to order, or for a free catalog • **800.258.8579 xTN**

**www.northernsun.com**

**LINKS–International Journal of Socialist Renewal. Seeking to rebuild the left. Subscriptions: $15 one year (3 issues), $25 two years. Make checks payable to Barry Sheppard, 503 Simon Street, Hayward CA 94541.**

BUSH MERCH.COM

*OutWear The President*

T-Shirts, Postcards, Stickers & More

tually obsessed musical polymath. When he emerged from Minneapolis in the late 1970s wearing thigh-high boots and bikini underwear, he seemed like a period curio: a creature sprung from disco-era clubland who played choppy funk on New Wave keyboards. But by the time of *Purple Rain*, it was clear that Prince was a musician for the ages. He mashed together gospel, soul and funk, gentle folk, hard rock, Tin Pan Alley pop and a dozen other styles, sometimes—often—in the space of a single song. He played guitar like Jimi Hendrix and wrote melodies like the Beatles; in his remarkably nimble voice you could hear echoes of guttural James Brown, silken Al Green and John Lennon, in his hoarsest primal-scream mode. No one before Prince had done so many things so well; twenty-five years later, his successor has yet to arrive.

*Musicology* is a showpiece for Prince's lavish gifts. As usual, his songwriting is effortlessly sophisticated, balancing pop-tune accessibility with jazz chords, tricky key changes and moments of dissonance that resolve with a satisfying crash into a major chord progression. Prince plays some astonishing lead guitar, and sings superbly throughout, summoning different vocal timbres in nearly every song. In "On the Couch," a ballad, he croons lush blue notes in a feathery falsetto, while a background choir of overdubbed Princes chimes in with low and high harmony parts. He delivers the Teddy Pendergrass–style soul ballad "Call My Name" in a robust baritone; in "Illusion, Coma, Pimp & Circumstance"—the rawest and strangest funk on the album—his voice is nasal and gasping; in "What Do U Want Me 2 Do" he sounds clipped, boyish, bashful.

All this skill and formal polish is familiar from past Prince albums, but *Musicology* is in certain notable ways a departure. By far, this is Prince's most prudish record. Sex has always been his supreme subject, and unlike so many other musical lotharios, Prince is—or at least was—genuinely kinky. His dionysian streak first emerged on his third album, *Dirty Mind* (1980), and thereafter Prince made it his project to banish all double-entendres and fill his records with as many fantasies and perversions as possible. He sang about a 32-year-old woman who keeps her 16-year-old brother as a sex slave; he sang plaintively of his desire to be his girlfriend's girlfriend, so he could help her pick out clothes and dress her for a night on the town (and, while they were at it, have some lesbian sex); he wrote what may have been history's first cyber-sex ballad, back in 1996; he sang an ode to the pheromone.

On *Musicology*, Prince has tamed his lust. There are sexy songs—"Call My Name" and "On the Couch" are make-out tunes par excellence—but the sex is implied in the slow-simmering grooves, not spelled out in the lyrics. The closest Prince comes to talking dirty is when he begs an angry lover to let him back in bed, so he can "go down south"—rather coy words from the creator of "Jack U Off" and "Pussy Control."

In fact, the Prince we encounter on *Musicology* sounds suspiciously like a married, middle-aged Minnesotan (all of which he is). He's concerned about politics (three songs take swipes at George W. Bush), in love with his wife and, despite the obligatory party tunes, in a subdued, meditative mood. The album ends with one of the most touching songs Prince has written, "Reflection," a loping ballad, nudged along by woodwinds and a high-riding bass, which offers as poignant a picture of mid-life happiness and resignation as you're likely to find in a pop song. Its lyric meanders from tender domestic scenes ("Did we remember to water the plants 2day?...Tell me do U like my hair this way?") to some cryptic lines about death and loss ("It's nice 2 know/That when bodies wear out/We can get another... Eye was just thinking about my mother") to an almost pastoral concluding verse, in which we glimpse Prince strumming a guitar on his front porch at day's end, like a crusty bluesman.

The gentleness of "Reflection" suggests that Prince is aging gracefully, easing into the late afternoon of middle age. But elsewhere on *Musicology*, we meet a more cantankerous figure. The fact that Prince is no longer a sex fiend comes as a mild surprise; it's a real shock, though, to find Prince, who for years was the embodiment of everything musically new and weird, embracing a schoolmarmish brand of musical traditionalism. Can the man who gave us "Computer Blue" and other masterpieces of robotic-funk really have become a roots-music snob?

It sure sounds like it. *Musicology*'s title track is a shamelessly note-perfect James Brown pastiche, an "old school joint/4 the true funk soldiers" that centers on a rhetorical question: "Don't u miss the feeling/ Music gave ya/Back in the day?" With its horn stabs, cracking snare drum and percolating bass line straight out of "Sex Machine," "Musicology" is designed to stoke nostalgia for that allegedly better, nobler musical era, and to set up another question, Prince's big punchline, a dig at hip-hop, delivered with a gruff harrumph over a stop-time: "Take ur pick—turntable or a band?"

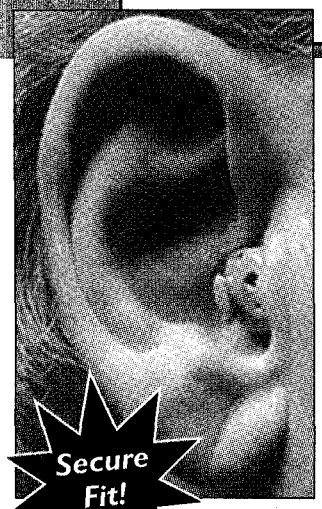
As a marketing ploy, Prince's newfound

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

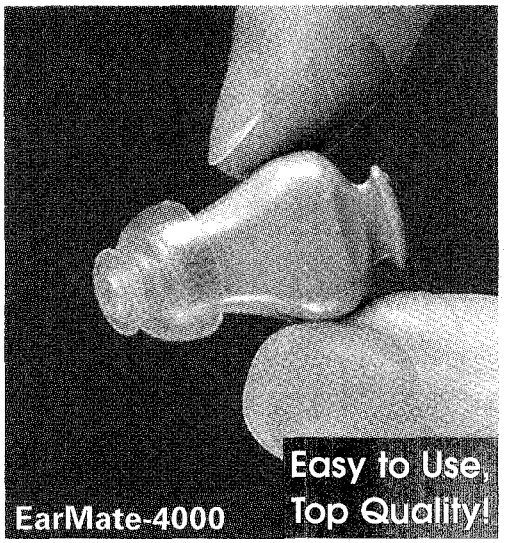
# Enjoy Easy Listening with the EarMate-4000!

**The *Wall Street Journal* reviewed the EarMate-4000 and reported the "Sound was crisp and clear" and it "fit our ears the best, resulting in minimal feedback." *Wall Street Journal* 6/9/2004**

http://webreprints.djreprints.com/1005421313607.html




If you or someone you love suffers from a hearing loss, then you know how frustrating that loss can be. Now you can improve your hearing with the new EarMate™-4000. Try it risk-free in your home for 45 days. You order by mail from a family business with over 250,000 satisfied customers & 23 years selling hearing aids by mail.




## *Amazingly Effective!*

The EarMate™ hearing aid amplifies the high-frequency sounds that help you hear and understand. You select from three sizes of soft ear tips to get a secure and comfortable fit. Easy-to-use volume control locks in your preferred setting - no more fumbling!

The EarMate-4000 is sold exclusively through the U.S. mail giving you the lowest price possible. You save on a genuine hearing aid made with premium components. Compare to hearing aids costing $1,000 or more. Decide which is best for you. Call or write today!

**You Receive *FREE*:**

- ✓ **Risk-free 45 day home trial**
- ✓ **5 Free Batteries**
- ✓ **Free Carrying Case**
- ✓ **Free Cleaning Brush**
- ✓ **Free Shipping**

© Hearing Help Express™, Inc. - DeKalb, IL 60115

***Customer comments on file - printed with their permission.***

**"It's small, inexpensive and it works! You can't lose with your money-back guarantee."** Linda Doerrer – Connecticut

**"The result was outstanding. The cost was low compared with other hearing aids."** Harold Copeland – South Carolina

**"It is simple and very easy to use in either ear."** M.R. – Kellogg, ID

**"Your aid is much better than one I previously had at $4,500."** Alfred Eckman – Massachusetts

**"I love my 4000 - I can hear! What I like is [to lock-in my] volume setting. I simply can't handle 'fumbling' with those adjustment controls like I see so many do."** Jim Wood – New Mexico

***FREE information!***

**Call 1-800-782-6897**

**ext. 13-365**

**www.HearingHelpExpress.com/13365**

***Hearing Help Express™***

105 North First St., Dept 13-365
DeKalb, IL 60115-0586

**Free Shipping!**

☑ ***YES!*** Please rush me details on the EarMate™-4000. I understand there is no obligation and shipping is free.

Mr.Mrs.Ms. _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Compassionate Listening Tour of Israel/Palestine**

November 7–19

Learn, listen, contribute to healing of Palestinians, Israelis, ourselves.

**An unforgettable experience.**

See website www.pepeace.org Trips and Events or call (203) 878-4769

Guillermo Silva

And other graphics from

The Bryna Collection

Call: Dr. David Prensky

(561) 832-8511

**BUSH A GLOBAL DISASTER A NATIONAL DISGRACE**

**Outraged?**

Try this bumper sticker. Mail $2 to K&L. PO Box 1108, Boulder, CO 80306-1108

Products for Protest Profits for Peace

AntiWar, Anti-Bush T-shirts & buttons

US?

www.ProtestWorks.com or write:POB 424906, SF,CA 94142

**REDUCTIONIST LIBERTARIAN Commentary on ANTI-SEMITISM**

http://www.worthingtonsworld.com

MENTION: NATION

$7 ea. +S&H

**G.W. BUSH TOILET PAPER**

AT www.PieHole.net

We also sell...

HUMMERS SUCK shirts

TOLL-FREE: 866-852-5891

FREE STICKER


nostalgia makes some sense. For the past several years, r&b has been overrun by earnest young singers, wielding tattered copies of Stevie Wonder's *Innervisions* and Fender Rhodes electric pianos, who revive, with varying degrees of skill and slavishness, the sound of 1970s soul. After a decade in the commercial wilderness, Prince may have decided that neo-soul was good business. After all, he's capable of disappearing into the studio for an afternoon and churning out a period piece that young stars like D'Angelo, Erykah Badu and Alicia Keys would labor over for weeks.

On *Musicology*, Prince gestures in the direction of 1970s nostalgia, invoking Earth, Wind and Fire and Sly Stone, recalling the good old days "when we would compare whose afro was the roundest." But the yesteryear he's really wistful for is his own mid-1980s heyday. "Musicology" ends with a cute little audio montage: the sound of a spinning radio dial, picking up snatches of old Prince hits—"Kiss," "Sign 'O' the Times," "Little Red Corvette." The implication is clear: This is the good stuff; this is what you've been missing.

But there's a problem: Those one-bar snippets of Prince classics show up everything on *Musicology*. In the 1980s Prince moved brazenly from invention to invention. His hit singles offered a virtually unbroken sequence of sonic shocks, each carrying new kinds of weirdness onto the pop charts. The young Prince Rogers Nelson was bored with r&b production clichés—he had a particular aversion to horns—and in response, crafted his signature sound, the jagged keyboard-propelled funk of early hits like "I Wanna Be Your Lover," "Controversy" and "1999." These stark, irrepressibly danceable songs gave a virile edge to ticky-tacky synthesizer pop and established Prince's preference for spartan arrangements—and it is that eerie minimalism, the sound of something stripped out, that even today strikes the ear with such electric force. Think of "When Doves Cry" (1984), the spooky Number 1 hit from *Purple Rain*, which completely eschews bass; or "Sign 'O' the Times" (1987), which thrusts a chewy bass out front and brings in guitar only for an occasional bluesy accent; or the delicious "Kiss" (1986), a funk song so spare it seems scored for voice and rattling bones.

*Musicology* contains no such jolts. Prince the minimalist weirdo has become Prince the maximalist craftsman. The new album is a collection of impeccably realized stylistic exercises, with each horn line and gospel piano chord in its proper place, every song burnished to perfection, sounding exactly like it should. Prince has made a good record, and paid himself a poor tribute.

One of the little-discussed leitmotifs in pop music history is the role of competition in producing great music. All the arts have their rivalries, but popular music is a particularly intense contact sport; antagonisms play out on the Billboard charts and MTV and concert stages, with anxiety-of-influence neuroses hanging thick in the strobe-lit air. Consider the mid-1960s rivalries between the Beatles and Beach Boys, or between the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. Rap still thrives on the verbal blood sport of rhyme battles; and the extraordinary sonic richness of today's hit radio is due in large measure to competition between hip-hop producers, who vie to outdo each other with the freshest and most unusual new sounds and rhythms.

Prince has had his own history of rivalries, and on the evidence of *Musicology*, his competitive impulse is still robust. In the 1980s he was pitted against Michael Jackson in a clash of freaky-eccentric natural-born pop geniuses. Since then, the rivalry has cooled, but on the new record, Prince can't resist getting a dig in. "My voice is getting higher/And Eye ain't never had my nose done," he sings on "Life 'O' the Party," adding, "That's the other guy."

In any case, the real target of Prince's ire these days isn't sad, grotesque Michael Jackson but the rappers and deejays he dismisses in that snide lyric about turntables. Here is a great big snarl of artistic neurosis that Harold Bloom could appreciate. Prince exerted a powerful influence on the first generation of hip-hop MCs and producers, who sampled his records, copped his hauteur, studied his genre-melding and found inspiration in his talent for coaxing beautiful sounds from new machines. Sometime around 1990, the weight of influence shifted, and for years Prince expended a great deal of effort trying to incorporate hip-hop into his sound—hiring producers to punch up his beats, adding a pitiful rapper named Tony M. to his New Power Generation touring band, even attempting, in a few embarrassing instances, to rap himself.

Now, having failed to master hip-hop, Prince rails against it. His argument—that a turntable is no match for a band, that hip-hop isn't real music, etc.—is a case that even the woodsiest classic rock fans stopped making years ago, and should really be beneath the dignity of a guy whose synthesizer-steeped early records make most hip-hop sound as earthy as an Alan Lomax field recording. It's obvious, anyway, that Prince doesn't believe his own rhetoric. He's clearly obsessed with hip-hop; on *Mu-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

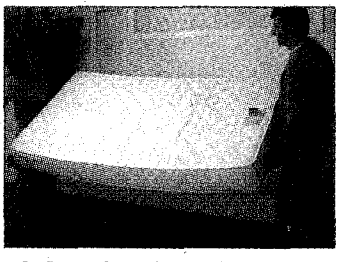
# The Best Rest of Your Life... For the Rest of Your Life

## *The technologically advanced memory foam mattress can now cost 40-50% less than you would expect!*

*by Michael Curtin*

When I was a kid, I could fall asleep on a jagged rock and awake refreshed. Now it seems that the weight of the world is on my shoulders and a peaceful night's sleep is a real rarity. I usually awake sore and stiff with my lower back feeling like I am in a vice. But thanks to NASA, I'm now sleeping like a baby!

One day, while walking through the Pittsburgh airport, I saw a display for a new mattress technology. The top of the mattress was made from visco-elastic memory foam developed by NASA. I tried it and could not bring myself to get up from the mattress. It was that comfortable! I missed my connection but I got a great nap. When I checked the prices on these mattresses, they were just too expensive. It cost almost $2,000 for the queen size. So I set out to find a way to build a visco-elastic memory foam topped mattress for a price that more people could afford.

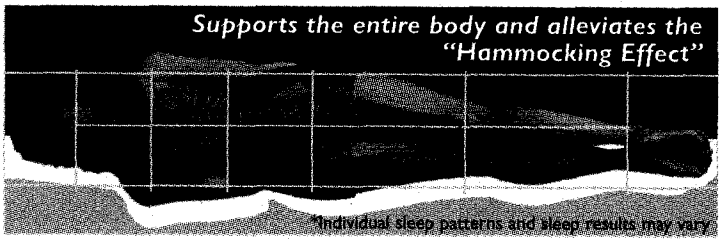


***A Complete Mattress System Shipped Directly to You!***

Instead of importing the expensive foam from Sweden, we found that we could get the foam directly from the manufacturer and save you a fortune. Then our manufacturing partners figured out a way to wrap the mattress so that UPS could deliver it. That saved another fortune in transportation costs. So instead of nearly $1,200 for a twin size, we can price our memory foam topped mattress for only $499. Our Queen is priced under $1,000 while our competitor charges more than $1,700. You'll sleep better knowing that you saved so much!

The Innerspace Mattress surpassed expectations when I put it to the test. It was the first mattress that allowed me to sleep comfortably on my back instead of on my side*. This sleep position was so comfortable that I didn't toss and turn at all. I finally slept through the night without waking up even once. When that alarm clock rang, I was ready to take on the day.

Our specially formulated visco-elastic foam seemed to distribute my weight over the entire mattress so that I felt no pressure on my lower back*. It was actually firm in the right places and soft in others. And the perforated heat sensitive material breathed easily.




The ultimate tests: First, we sent the mattress to the Pennsylvania Spine Institute where renowned neurosurgeon Dr. William Beutler tried the mattress. He said that the Innerspace helped maintain spinal support. Then I sent one to my 84-year-old mother who suffers from arthritis and has had 2 knee replacements. She says that she hasn't slept this well since before she had children and that was in 1940!*

So many technological advances have made our lives more stressful. Your nights should be a time of peace, not a time of suffering. Call for your 99-night, no risk in-home trial. If you're not sleeping better, just send the InnerSpace Mattress back for a full refund of the purchase price.

***Not available in stores.***

***Call now to take advantage of our special direct offer.***

**InnerSpace Mattress System**

***Twin pricing starting at ONLY five payments of $99.80*** +S&H.

Ask about pricing for Full, Queen and King sizes

**Promotional Code ISM106-01**

Please mention this when you call.

**Toll-Free 24 hours a day**

**800-859-1542**

**To order by mail, please call for details.**

*We can also accept your check by phone.*

NEXTTEN products for your next ten years.

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. ISM106-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

**For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day 800-859-1542**

*See more innovative products at* ***www.nextten.com***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*sicology*, he keeps mentioning rappers—Missy Elliot, Dr. Dre and Eminem pop up out of nowhere, hobgoblins of Prince's subconscious—and it can't have escaped his attention that the best, most interesting, most beguilingly odd—most Princean—pop music is being made by rappers and their producers. Back on Grammy night, Prince watched the coronation of Outkast, the Atlanta hip-hop duo whose monster hit "Hey Ya!" is, in spirit if not in form, a Prince tribute, and is, truth be told, as woolly and irresistible as anything in the master's own songbook. If Prince is spoiling for a fight, is it because, deep down, he knows that his hip-hop followers have stolen his mojo? ■

FILMS

# Brief Encounter

STUART KLAWANS

**BEFORE SUNSET • SPIDER-MAN 2**

Like many intelligent women of advanced political beliefs, Celine detests the ideology of the soulmate. She says as much, with torso-twisting vehemence, about three-quarters of the way through *Before Sunset*, shouting the word "evil" at the notion of there being one right person for her. Although she is, by all conventional standards, a strikingly beautiful woman and still young, you can see weariness in her face as she rails about the wasted years, when she either pursued the phantom of true romance or else felt dead because she'd abandoned the chase.

Like many intelligent, advanced women, Celine also has learned that the heart has its reasons. Despite the justice of her tirade, despite the genuine outrage behind it, she makes her speech in the back seat of a luxury car, driving through a shimmering Paris afternoon with a man who gives her *exactly* the right response, always, and has the looks of an endearingly scruffy dream.

Were this scene to happen in another American movie, you might grouse about Hollywood's need to have things both ways. Hollywood, though, played almost no role in making *Before Sunset*, which comes from the deeply independent soul of Richard Linklater; and nobody here is being had. Linklater wants to increase your enjoyment of human complexity, not simplify it out of existence. If he makes Celine's emotions work in two directions at once, it's because he knows people are like that.

He also knows what people are like when they gather in an audience: They demand honesty and substance but also want their wishes fulfilled, and will give a filmmaker just ninety minutes to do it. Gifted enough to oblige, and happy to do so, Linklater satisfies on all counts. He draws you into an intense, richly textured interchange between two wholly credible characters—that's the explicit side of *Before Sunset*—and at the same time, implicitly, conducts a formal experiment, in which he reveals the requirements of a good movie by systematically ticking them off.

I could watch this picture twice a day for the rest of the summer.

But before I rave on, let me explain the premise of *Before Sunset* for those who have not yet been introduced to Celine (Julie Delpy) and her possible soulmate Jesse (Ethan Hawke). When moviegoers last saw these characters, at the end of Linklater's 1995 *Before Sunrise*, they were saying goodbye at the train station in Vienna, having met just a day earlier, and were sharing one of the most convincingly passionate kisses in film history. From a chance encounter on a westbound train—she, a French girl, was on her way home from Budapest, and he, the American boy, was bumming around—they had gone together impulsively into the city, to wander through the late afternoon and evening, to talk about everything beneath the sun and moon and to share the Taj Mahal of one-night stands. Why Taj Mahal? Because for all the magnificence of the encounter, Celine, at age 23, had a head full of gravestones, and Jesse, equally young, believed that every good experience will wither and be lost. Rather than expose themselves to routine and disappointment, the two chose not to exchange telephone numbers or even last names but pledged to meet on the same platform in a year's time. No! Make that six months!

The rendezvous, we now learn, did not take place. But nine years later, in Paris, Celine and Jesse happen to meet again—and so we have *Before Sunset*.

It is a retrospective film, obviously: a meditation on opportunities lost, fantasies recollected, alternative selves that did not appear. From the beginning, though, you may feel that the one-time lovers have grown more confident and hopeful, now that they're older. What's past is past; and yet time is more slippery than we usually think, as Jesse says near the start of the film, speaking with the philosophical air of a pothead (or a Proust). Time remains open to all sorts of possibilities—and that's what Linklater goes on to prove.

He does so by setting a deadline for the lovers, as he'd done in *Before Sunrise*. It seems that Jesse has a plane to catch and must leave for the airport in an hour and a half—as long as it takes for a feature film to unspool. The events that follow fill this cinematic slot precisely, because *Before Sunset*, unlike its predecessor, takes place in real time. In the earlier film, a cut or a fade to black made minutes or even hours disappear. In this picture, a stroll through the Left Bank that would take five minutes takes five minutes, and the ensuing ten-minute conversation in a cafe takes ten. As a whole, then, the action of *Before Sunset* represents "what can happen in a movie."

What happens? First of all, a movie draws us through space; and so the camera in *Before Sunset* is almost always traveling. It accompanies Celine and Jesse from the Shakespeare & Company bookstore to a cafe, then along a garden promenade between buildings and down to the Seine, where the two hop onto a sightseeing boat. ("It's for tourists," Celine cries, "it's embarrassing." Then she enjoys the view, as do the people in the audience.) After disembarkation, the couple continue their trip by chauffeured car. They drive to Celine's neighborhood, then walk through a courtyard, up the stairs, into her apartment. The time is up; the trip is done.

What else happens in a movie? We visit with attractive hybrids: characters who are both dramatic inventions and extensions of the actors' personalities. Here again, *Before Sunset* satisfies the requirement, since it would be hard to find more pleasant companions for ninety minutes than Celine-Delpy and Jesse-Hawke. She has a little frown that gathers between her eyes, offsetting the loose and sunny aura of her hair, the broad conviviality of her lips. His hair might belong to a 5-year-old who just got up from a nap, and the mischievous smile pulls up one corner of his mouth; but along the cheeks run hollows that resemble twin dueling scars. These extraordinarily good-looking people are roughed-up enough to be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interesting. What's more important, though, is that they interest each other. They can't stop confessing, teasing, commenting, contending, laughing abruptly in the middle of the conversation and talking on top of one another's words, so great is their desire to respond to one another. Where does the characters' interplay end and the actors' begin? It's impossible to say, since Delpy and Hawke collaborated with Linklater on the dialogue. All I know is that these lovers delight in the answer more than the statement; and their pleasure becomes the audience's.

A movie may also give pleasure by flattering the audience. It invites us to imagine ourselves as ordinary people, only a little better—which is why the "average" social class gains some luxe on the screen, the "normal" job gets more excitement and daily inconveniences (bills to pay, diapers to change) fade away. In this spirit, *Before Sunset* makes Jesse a bestselling novelist and gives Celine a meaningful job, with travel, at an environmental NGO. Money is not a pressing problem; domestic encumbrances remain out of sight. We're able to feel that Celine and Jesse are good people, and that we, too, are good, caring and intelligent for dreaming ourselves into their company. The trick here—an excellent one—is that the lovers know they're in a time bubble. When it pops and life's mess pours in, Celine and Jesse won't seem so admirable.

But will the bubble pop? A movie builds suspense; and as the minutes tick by in *Before Sunset*, the people on screen and in the audience alike wonder more and more intently if Jesse will catch that airplane.

I will say no more, except that time has rarely passed in a film with such apparent ease and spontaneity, yet with such rightness in every moment. Working with the very rudiments of movies, Linklater, Delpy and Hawke have sustained a flawless performance—one that's warm, thoughtful, funny, sexy, charming and in all ways alive.

Make that three times a day.

American filmmakers have given us some wonderful love stories this year: first *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*, then *Before Sunset* (which has been screening quietly for a while) and now *Spider-Man 2*. Forget, if you can, the fight scenes and explosions, which are included de rigueur and too often feel like it. In essence, *Spider-Man 2* is another soulmate movie, which asks: Must a young man give up his true love, just because he's a guilt-ridden freak who doesn't dare speak his heart?

Fans of the first film—count me in—are happy to know that Tobey Maguire is back as Peter Parker/Spider-Man and feel-

With corporate misdeeds running rampant, *GreenMoney Journal* is *your* financial watchdog. Nominated three times for "General Excellence" by *Utne* and the Independent Press Association, *GreenMoney Journal* has been a leader in the field of socially responsible investing since 1992.

**By subscription only: $50 per year**

GREENMONEY™ JOURNAL

from the stockmarket to the supermarket

800.849.8751 • www.greenmoney.com

AHOME


# EVENTS

**CONNECTICUT**

## Gandhi Peace Award Reception

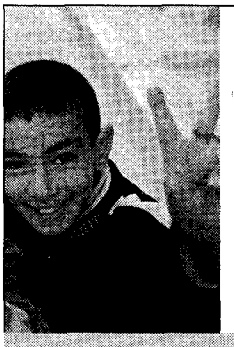
■Promoting Enduring Peace will hold its Annual Gandhi Peace Award Reception honoring PEP president Karen Jacob and David Cortright, director, Fourth Freedom Forum, Saturday, September 18, 6–8 PM. Yale Visitors Center, 149 Elm Street, New Haven, CT. $10 admission You can place an ad/message in the Program Booklet. Full page, $100; half, $50; quarter, $25. Please send checks to PEP, 112 Beach Ave., Milford, CT 06460 by September 1. Thank you!

**MASSACHUSETTS**

## 'The Man Who Knew Bush'

■*A Trip Back Through Bush Country.* An outrageous new documentary film about George W. Bush, the people and places that formed his extreme right-wing politics: Andover, Yale, Skull and Bones, Kennebunkport and the Walker fortune. World premiere screening: Loew's Copley Place Cineplex–Boston, Wed., July 28, 2 PM. $5 admission to benefit the homeless.

*The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $175 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.*

Travel Redefined

"[The Reality Tour] was more of a learning experience than I could have imagined. It was just incredible!"
—Participant on Palestine Delegation

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 ext. 221 | www.globalexchange.org

Join the Peacemakers

Bishop Gene Robinson, Kathy Kelly, Mike Farrell, Rev. James Lawson, Donzaleigh Abernathy

FOR National Conference
Los Angeles, Aug. 5-9

The Fellowship of Reconciliation
Working for peace since 1914.

(845) 358-4601 FOR www.forusa.org


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing glummer than ever. Having bizarre superpowers does nothing to improve the life of a guy who is living alone in a dismal apartment, flunking out of Columbia University, scrounging for cash (now that he's lost his pizza-delivery job) and worrying over his Aunt May (Rosemary Harris), who is about to lose her little house in Queens. All this is bad enough; but worse is the news that the ever-near yet unattainable Mary Jane (Kirsten Dunst) has been dating someone. The blow shakes Peter so terribly that he begins to doubt his purpose in life, and even his identity. Is he essentially and irrevocably Spider-Man? Or can he give up his powers and duties?

These questions come at a bad moment, since a new villain has shown up in town: Doc Ock, once a humane and brilliant scientist, but now a monster with eight limbs and fantasies of holding infinite power. Here we come to the parts of the movie that seem obligatory, despite the casting of Alfred Molina: an actor of endless resources, who is persuasive when discussing the intricacies of poetry and nuclear fusion and equally convincing when being hypnotized by a set of computerized metal snakes. The true special effects in *Spider-Man 2* are the self-transformations of Molina and Maguire. What's ordinary is the big, loud battle on top of the speeding elevated train.

And anyway, what's an el doing in Manhattan? One of the big virtues of *Spider-Man* was the way its director, Sam Raimi, used the real New York City. It's a violation of that spirit for Raimi now to run a section of Chicago through his movie. It's an even worse violation—or is it perhaps a confession?—for him to duplicate one of the high points of the first film: the justly celebrated upside-down kiss in the rain. Worried that she might have promised herself to the wrong man, Mary Jane positions herself over him, chin to forehead, and lowers her face for the ultimate test. This time, though, the magic doesn't happen for her—nor does anything like the magic of *Spider-Man* touch the audience this time.

*Spider-Man 2* is a film of many genial small touches—from an expert slapstick turn by Maguire to a low-tech acoustic version of television's *Spider-Man* song—but no surprises, no revelations, no joy. There's nothing at all wrong with the movie. I just wish there were more that's right. ■

***HONESTY and SINCERITY: An American Possibility***
by Karen Hardtke
A refreshing view of how people served the republic honestly before there was an appointed regime. $12. Karen Hardtke, P.O. Box 157, Pengilly, MN 55775.


# Classified

*While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement,* The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

## ADVICE NEEDED

**NERVOUS PROGRESSIVE SEEKS ADVICE** on how to legally emigrate, alone to Europe, Scandinavia, Australia. Reply simpkins9000@yahoo.com.

## BOOKLETS

**JESUS FICTIONAL**—Incontrovertible Proof. Josephus created Jesus, gospels. Scholarly booklet: $10. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE.)

## BOOKS

**STAY IN TOUCH WITH CUBA—PEX,** importing and selling Cuban cultural products in the United States since 1989. Books, magazines, CDs, videos and more. 1-888-458-CUBA or www.pexstore.com.

***WHEN CRIMINAL JUSTICE FAILS*:** How? Why? Challenging book for courts, corrections, behaviorists, educators, parents: www.challeen.com.

***LEARNING, EAST AND WEST*** (2002); *Docta Ignorantia, American-Style: Institutionalized 'Learned Ignorance' Today* (2003); *Écrasez l'Infâme!: Against All Religious Wars* (2004). Discussion: www.jjfang.com. Blog: www.jjang.com/blog.html.

***THE OTHER SIDE OF IMPEACHMENT*:** Verse and prose, 230 pages. Poignant, thought-provoking. Order online at www.winterbloombooks.com.

***VULGARIAN GOULASH*:** At long last, radical fiction more real than reality. Now at www.amazon.com and www.bn.com.

## CHIROPRACTOR

**DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR.** Applied kinesiologist, manipulation, muscle-balancing, organ energy, cranial, sacral & acu-point work. One-hour sessions. (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoriarepetto.meta-ehealth.com.

## CONSULTING

**"IF YOU KEEP DOING WHAT YOU'RE DOING,** you'll keep getting what you're getting" (Les Brown): www.theaddededge.com.

## CONTRACTOR

**NYC BASED. RENOVATION, DESIGN, CABINETRY.** Co-op, townhouse, loft, office, restaurant, etc. Skilled, creative, responsible. Licensed (DCA #1131700), insured, references. Tegra Construction Inc. (917) 567-2778.

## COUNSELING

**CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST: TREAT** depression, anxiety, relationship problems, etc. Specialize in concerns of artists and academics. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

## INVESTMENT

**SEEKING PRIVATE EQUITY INVESTORS** comfortable with film investing. Relevant literary masterpiece; "A-List" director to attach. For details please call producer at (714) 932-0693, or write to BLM-LTD@Lycos.com.

## LIBERAL LIAISONS

**EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION** with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

## LIBERAL LIAISONS

**THE RIGHT STUFF:** Date fellow graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, Stanford, UCB, University of Chicago, Northwestern and others. More than 4,000 members. See www.rightstuffdating.com, (800) 988-5288.

**FETISHES AND FANTASIES** fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

**EROTIC VACATIONS** with private introductions to friendly, beautiful, women. Bendrick International Men's Vacation Club. www.bendricks.com.

**INTELLIGENT, EXPLICIT, SEXY** telephone conversations. Fetish fantasy, erotic tease-and-denial, guided pleasure-play, sensual, knowledgeable B&D/S&M. Call Mistress Vanesa TOLL-FREE (866) 699-OBEY. Complete discretion assured.

**WWW.HIPPIEPERSONALS.COM.** Make love not war. Free registration. Free personals ad search. Progressive peaceniks online dating!

**LOVELY, SLIM, BLONDE DWF** U. of Chicago grad. Down-to-earth, playful, affectionate, financially secure professional and humanitarian. Hopes to share good conversation, dinners with wine, walks in beautiful cities, hikes to mile-high mountaintops, quiet reading side by side, much more, with a smart, caring, energetic man 49–69 with a zest for life, laughter and the great outdoors. Reply to Nation Box 399, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

**SCREENWRITER SEEKS ROCKET SCIENTIST:** Classy, creative Pasadena writer desires literate, wholesome man (46–59) with integrity, IQ north of 150. Must look good in a tux. Reply to Nation Box 400, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

**MAKE ME LAUGH.** It's easier than you might suppose. All it takes for starters is sharp political insight, a schmear of Yiddish humor, some recalled Bertie Wooster inanities. Seventy-and-up males who are certifiably sane are eligible but risk merciless scrutiny. Please, no tiresome vegetarians. A Calvin Trillin double perhaps? Smile. Reply to Nation Box 402, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

*If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.*

## LOANS & MORTGAGES

**BAY AREA LOAN AGENT** contributes 5 percent of commission to your progressive cause. Purchasing or refinancing your home, please call Jerzy Brozyna, Bankers Network, (408) 806-7320, or jerzy@sbcglobal.net. DRE# 01243578.

## MERCHANDISE

**DECOMPRESSION FOR THE DEMOCRAT!™** SeeYaGeorge.com. Outrageous Political Shopping for Your Progressive State of Mind!

**WWJD? WHAT WOULD JUNIOR DO?** Find out at www.reefermagnets.com.

**SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION!** Shop online at http://shop.thenation.com and exercise subtle and not so subtle dissent. Great gifts (prices on some items now reduced).

**UnSeatBUSH.com.** Assorted affordable bumper stickers! Excellent nonprofit fundraisers. Spread visible resistance/awareness! (619) 226-1116.

**ANTIWAR/PROGRESSIVE BUMPER STICKERS,** buttons. Also custom orders, including stickers, postcards, signs, promotional items. Discounts for organizers. Union made: www.newsolidarity.com, (800) 632-9932.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Classified

## MERCHANDISE

**CALL IT WHAT IT IS.** Bumper $5 each, 3 for $12, banner $15. Bulk rates available. Order or request details: bytebush@yahoo.com.

**GIVE BUSH THE BOOT!** Get (or give) a Bush Doormat today! www.BUSHDOORMAT.com.

**FREE BUMPER STICKER.** Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org: Friends Committee on National Legislation.

**FRUTEX MENDAX = BUSH LIAR.** A commemorative coin that suits W. to a T. www.goony.us.

## ORGANIZATIONS

**SAN JOSE, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** meeting regularly. Please contact Lawrence Bryan for further information. Call (408) 294-1073 or e-mail sjnation@yahoogroups.com.

**WHEELING, WV, *NATION* STUDY GROUP FORMING:** This ad is legitimate and not a joke. Contact Dianne Burnham, (304) 232-0590.

**CULVER CITY, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** meets on the 3rd Sunday of every month, 3–5 PM. For more information call Dorothy Gilden at (310) 391-0068.

**WASHINGTON, DC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** meets third Saturday of the month at 3–5 PM. We invite new members. For more information call Frances Pasmanick at (202) 363-0278, e-mail fpasmanick@juno.com.

**BRADENTON/SARASOTA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** is meeting monthly. Please call (941) 761-4873 for time and place.

**JOIN THE TAMPA BAY AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP.** Contact ehombord@tampabay.rr.com or call (727) 895-0208.

**STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

**CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP** is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

**JOIN THE BALTIMORE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP.** For more information please contact Justin S. Hill, (410) 235-2917, or drshill@bellatlantic.net.

## POLICY

**END THE DRUG WAR:** See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**SEEKING EXPERIENCED WRITER/RESEARCHER** to help with various professional obligations. The job may be quarter-time and pay will be commensurate with experience. The job will entail a variety of writing and research activities for television and radio commentary, articles, op-ed pieces and lectures. Both computer and old-fashioned library research talents are a must. Interest in a variety of political, media and cultural topics is essential. Please send a short paragraph about your personal and professional background, why you are interested and how much you would like to be compensated. The job will begin mid-summer or early fall. Preference will be given to someone living in the NYC metro area. Reply to Nation Box 401, New York, NY 10003.

## POSITIONS AVAILABLE

**N.Y.C. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION** seeking Grievance Representative. Duties include all aspects of grievance-handling, disciplinary matters, participating in union meetings at all levels including labor/management meetings. Must also be able to motivate and organize members. Previous union experience desired. Candidates should forward résumé by August 15 to: CSTG, Local 375, DC 37, Attn: Claude Fort, P.E. 125 Barclay St., Room 600 New York, NY 10007. Tel: (212) 815-1375 Fax: (212) 815-7533.

## POSITIONS DESIRED

**RECENT UC GRADUATE (ENGLISH),** independent, creative, seeks challenging, inspiring work. Prefer Chicago, will relocate. Contact zachariahkahn@hotmail.com.

**RECENTLY RELOCATED REPORTER/EDITOR** seeks challenging NYC-metro post. Blue-collar, cross-cultural background; trlingual; literature MA. Enterprising, engaged, diligent. richkhav@yahoo.com.

## PROTEST

**NO RNC! T-SHIRTS TOO!** www.campshutdown.com.

## PSYCHOTHERAPY

**WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST,** PhD, 25 years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

**SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST** treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

## PUBLISHER

**NONFICTION MANUSCRIPTS WANTED:** Top royalties, major distribution: Brown Walker Press, www.BrownWalker.com.

## REAL ESTATE

**SANTA FE.** Progressive Realtor® Seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

**RETREAT/ESCAPE IN CAPE COD CONSERVATION AREA.** Salt pond view/access. Rustic 1848 cottage sleeps 4–5. No TV, Internet, washer. $550/week w/o linens, $600/week with linens. Available July & 1st week August. (508) 255-1663.

## REAL ESTATE

**MONTANA SOLACE:** 4+ bedroom home on twenty acres, view eastern Rocky Mountains. $129,000—deal of a lifetime: bucker59@hotmail.com.

**CITY OF BEACH, ND**—nice 2-bedroom house, new paint inside and out. Large lot with trees. Peaceful town, nice people, near schools and shopping $22,000. Owner (701) 872-4079.

## RENTALS

**ROOM AND BATH,** kitchen privileges in quiet Upper East Side Manhattan apartment. Days, weeks, *pied-à-terre* arrangements. (212) 722-4316.

## SPANISH STUDY

**GUATEMALA:** Study Spanish plus CLEP, Praxis preparation, internship, voluntary work, cheap tours: www.casaxelaju.com.

## TAXATION

**CAPITALISM? SOCIALISM? FREEDOM VS. JUSTICE?** Prosperity vs. sustainability? Learn about the third way: www.singletax.org.

## TRAVEL/TOURS

**EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD** through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation*, page 59, www.globalexchange.org.

**FLORENCE, ITALY—ARCHITECT'S HOME.** Bed and breakfast: olive groves, vineyards, stunning views. Fifteen minutes from center. 75E per night. Tel. 0039-055-204-7493. Visit us at www.casabartolini.it.

## WEBSITES

**HILARIOUS, BITING** satirical letters to Bush, Cheney, Condi, Mel Gibson et al. Regular updates. www.paulchasman.com.

**THE REAL DEAL?** Untouched by the Carlyle Group, Halliburton, Bechtel, White House, House of Bush and House of Saud. Straightforward talk at the independent, Washington, DC–based, WWW.SAUDIPOLITICS.COM.

**WWW.OLDTOWNREVIEW.COM:** *"If this is indeed the path one chooses, let's at least get it out in the open."*

## CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

**Rates and Frequency Discounts:** STANDARD $3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.15 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

**Logos:** We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $45/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

**Deadline:** Tuesday, 3 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

**Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.**

**Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.**

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail michael@thenation.com.

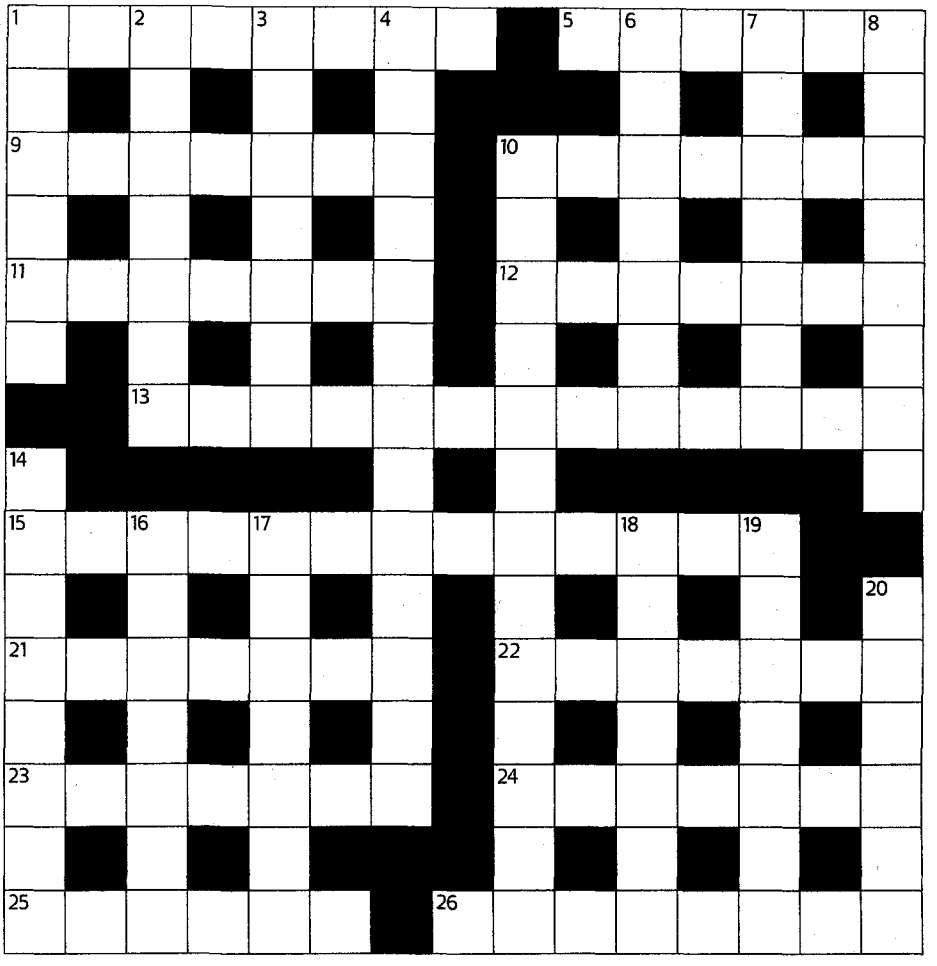
**Attach ad, typewritten if possible.**

**The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PUZZLE NO. 2950

FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

**1** Show support about the clandestine organization, relating to different peoples. (8)

**5** Good-looking carriage, by the sound of it! (6)

**9** See 21

**10** Is such a fish likely to bite? (7)

**11** In favor of a word of action? You'll find many a one in the Bible! (7)

**12** Possibly tune the dueling weapon—you should get a lift from it. (7)

**13** They are supposed to point out your station, but the datum, to you and me, has what sounds like bangers! (6,7)

**15** It's supposed to be an institution, but as they say, who wants to live in an institution? (4,9)

**21** and **9** Not one of those 16s fit for only a dog, but orders might come down through it. (5,2,7)

**22** As the British might say, tea has a certain bitterness to it, according to the painter. (7)

**23** The sort I found with a shortened state of what might be morally proper. (7)

**24** Bridge players might be associated with this town and song…(7)

**25** …sung something like Culbertson with my sets, perhaps. (6)

**26** The first person to say nasty things might typically be British. (8)

## DOWN

**1** Sort of precise, though losing the point, which might tell you what to put in the pot. (6)

**2** Such as a well-known one in Boston, which might imply British food. (7)

**3** The place in California, or Alabama, serves a drink to the tipsy dame…(7)

**4** …even though the dame oviously already has had plenty! (4,9)

**6** A poor horse and another animal—a classic one being a sort of carthorse associated with the band. (7)

**7** The place in Japan where the poor sap has to get straightened out! (7)

**8** Such a person might point out something 23, and roam around with a paper showing what to shop for. (8)

**10** Relatives of those on the rocks in California places have a sort of ascot to keep them warm. (8,5)

**14** When such get out, they might be at the store counter, and game for this. (8)

**16** One who was well-connected with a racket in the French version, being helpful in making Fido behave. (7)

**17** Am coming up clean, in a way, though for bad people it might be handy. (7)

**18** If it's a sweet potato, you don't eat it—you just play with it! (7)

**19** A twelve-month period that comes to a bad end—which might be longed for. (7)

**20** Less-fancy sounding tool for the carpenter. (6)

**PUZZLED?** No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2949

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ■ | O | U | T | O | F | S | E | R | V | I | C | E | ■ | ■ |
| T | ■ | N | ■ | T | ■ | I | ■ | I | ■ | M | ■ | G | ■ | S |
| H | A | C | K | I | N | G | ■ | G | L | A | S | G | O | W |
| E | ■ | L | ■ | O | ■ | N | ■ | H | ■ | G | ■ | Y | ■ | E |
| B | E | A | N | S | ■ | O | N | T | H | E | N | O | S | E |
| R | ■ | S | ■ | I | ■ | R | ■ | ■ | ■ | S | ■ | L | ■ | T |
| E | X | P | A | T | R | I | A | T | E | ■ | S | K | I | P |
| A | ■ | ■ | ■ | Y | ■ | N | ■ | W | ■ | C | ■ | ■ | ■ | O |
| K | E | P | I | ■ | M | A | L | E | V | O | L | E | N | T |
| O | ■ | O | ■ | F | ■ | ■ | ■ | N | ■ | N | ■ | R | ■ | A |
| F | O | R | C | E | D | O | U | T | ■ | T | A | R | O | T |
| D | ■ | T | ■ | L | ■ | M | ■ | I | ■ | R | ■ | H | ■ | O |
| A | M | E | R | I | C | A | ■ | E | V | A | S | I | V | E |
| Y | ■ | N | ■ | N | ■ | H | ■ | T | ■ | C | ■ | N | ■ | S |
| ■ | ■ | T | H | E | M | A | D | H | A | T | T | E | R | ■ |

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# 80 million Americans have bad breath...are YOU one of them?

*A dentist's research has led to TheraBreath®, a dramatic treatment system that works naturally and effectively against bad breath. The wide range of products offered in the TheraBreath® System not only fight bad breath, they help prevent you from getting it in the first place.*

It is estimated that 80 million Americans suffer from bad breath, dry mouth, and/or taste disorders (a condition often described as Halitosis). In the past, treatment has consisted of masking the odor with mouthwashes or mints or flooding the mouth with alcohol-based rinses. None of these treatments work, because scientific research has shown that Halitosis is caused by anaerobic sulfur-producing bacteria, breeding deep below the surface of the tongue, and also in the throat/tonsil area. The way to stop bad breath is to halt this process, and this is the secret behind the revolutionary TheraBreath® System. Because the bacteria involved in bad breath are anaerobes (oxygen-hating), an effective means of eliminating the sulfur gas production is to introduce oxygen to the bacteria, causing them to produce tasteless, odorless sulfates. As opposed to other oral formulas, Oxyd-8™, the active ingredient in the TheraBreath System, destroys oral odors, whether bacterially produced or those that originate from onions and garlic!

**The TheraBreath™ Starter System guarantees to relieve bad breath for less than the cost of one doctor's office visit!**

*Harold Katz, DDS. "America's Bad Breath Expert" Founder and Clinical Director, California Breath Clinics. UCLA School of Dentistry, 1975. UCLA, Bachelor of Arts, Bacteriology, 1971.*

My product line is the result of years of medical/dental research combined with constant clinical testing & re-testing on people just like yourself. Because I've helped more people than any other 'breath doctor', we now realize that specific symptoms may require special formulas. (There's no such thing as one product for everyone & everything!) The bottom line is that I've prescribed these products to tens of thousands of patients worldwide and the success speaks for itself—just take a look at one of hundreds of testimonials on file.

*Dear Dr. Katz,*

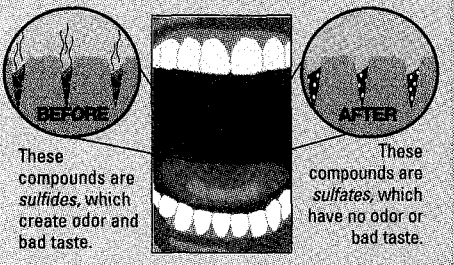
*Our son has had a breath problem for years. He tried mouthwashes and mints. We took him to doctors and dentists, and even had his tonsils removed. Nothing worked, until he tried your product. I am so thankful and thrilled that you found the solution to his problem. You'll never know how much you changed his life!*

*—M.C., Los Angeles*

*Results may vary.*

## HOW IT WORKS!

We all have natural bacteria that live on the back of the tongue. Under certain conditions, these bacteria will break down proteins and transform them into sulfides, which create odor and bad taste.




These compounds are *sulfides*, which create odor and bad taste.

These compounds are *sulfates*, which have no odor or bad taste.

**Oxyd-8™ *(a Proprietary Oxygenating formula)*, the active ingredient in TheraBreath, transforms these odor-causing sulfides to sulfates, which have no taste or odor.**

**Start to experience clean, fresh breath by following the effective 4-step TheraBreath™ System which includes:**

1. **Tongue Cleaner.** You CANNOT physically remove bacteria no matter how hard you scrape. We suggest using our non-gagging tongue cleaner in conjunction with any of our Oxygenating Toothpastes to introduce the formula deep below the tongue's surface.
2. **TheraBreath Toothpaste.** Brush with this toothpaste 2-3 times a day and you will be well on your way to prevent bad breath. TheraBreath toothpaste contains concentrated Aloe Vera, and also natural Xylitol to help protect tooth enamel, but DOES NOT contain Sodium Lauryl Sulfate (a harsh detergent linked to canker sore production) used in nearly all other toothpaste.
3. **TheraBreath Oral Rinse.** Use this refreshing Oral Rinse after brushing with TheraBreath Toothpaste. The rinse uses the odor-obliterating power of OXYD-8 to fight bad breath and sour/bitter/metallic tastes.
4. **TheraBreath PLUS "Extinguisher" Spray.** The powerful, clinical formula used at the California Breath Clinics combined with an easy-swivel sprayer to neutralize sulfur-producing bacteria at the source.

Helps fight low carb diet breath

**Try it for yourself today!** It's time to discover for yourself how much TheraBreath can help your bad breath. Give bad breath a run for its money with the innovative TheraBreath System. We're so sure you'll love TheraBreath, we're backing it with TechnoScout's exclusive in-home, 90-day trial. If you aren't completely satisfied with the results of TheraBreath, simply return it within 90 days for the purchase price.

**TheraBreath™ Starter System**
Item# ZR-1301 . . . . . **$39.95** + S&H
*Now available in Extra Strength Formula. Ask your TechnoScout representative.*

*Please mention promotional code 28279.*
**For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day**

**800-399-7852**

*To order by mail, please call for details.*

## Order today and receive a FREE gift!

**ZOX Mints (3 Rolls) NEW ZOX breath fresheners are the first "breath mint" to actually neutralize Volatile Sulfur Compounds rather than mask them. Containing the same zinc/oxygen/xylitol formula used in TheraBreath products, ZOX will stimulate saliva flow and eliminate bad breath and taste for hours. No sugar, all-natural, low carbs, and only 5 calories—FREE with your order of the TheraBreath Starter System!**

**TECHNOSCOUT®**
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834
www.greatbreath.com

All rights reserved. © 2004 TechnoBrands, Inc.

30318

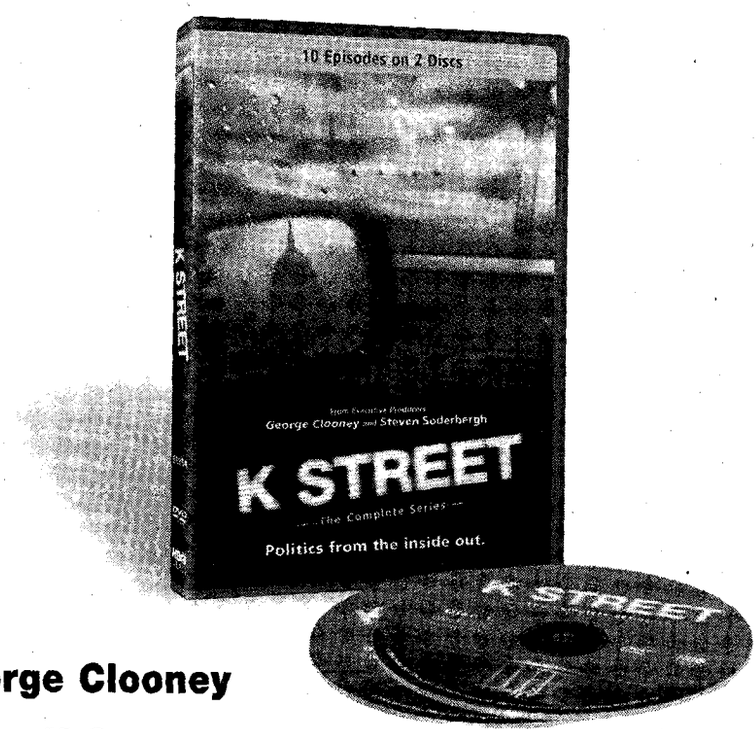
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**Crisis Managers.**

**Image Enhancers.**

**Spin Doctors.**

**Meet the people calling the shots in Washington.**




From Executive Producers **George Clooney** and **Steven Soderbergh** comes **K Street**, HBO's innovative fusion of reality and fiction.

**Now available on DVD.**

© 2004 Home Box Office, Inc. All rights reserved. HBO® is a service mark of Home Box Office, Inc.

HBO VIDEO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED